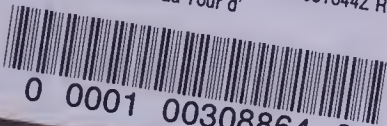


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H I S T O R Y  
O F  
HENRI DE LA TOUR  
D'Auvergne,

Viscount de TURENNE,  
Marshal-General of FRANCE.

In TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



L O N D O N :

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T O I E

## Prince of TURENNE.

**T**H O' you are at this age too young to know all the merit of a Great-Unkle, with whose History I here present you; yet in proportion as your understanding opens, and your heart becomes susceptible of the impressions proper to form it, you will in the actions of *his* Life discover the principles which ought to guide you, and the virtues which ought to animate you throughout the course of *yours*.

The Viscount de Turenne from his tender years shewed a great command of his passions; an uncommon candor in owning his faults, and a no less uncommon resolution in correcting them; a predominant love of truth; a bene-

## DEDICATION.

volence that was full of nobleness; a generous compassion for the unfortunate; and all the sentiments worthy of his birth.

When he began his apprenticeship to the profession of Arms under his uncle Prince Maurice, his earnest desire of improvement in the military Art made him seek dangers, and inure himself to hardships. He put questions to his seniors with respect, and by his deference to their judgment engaged them to communicate to him what they knew. Far from shocking the self-love of his rivals, he by his modesty drew them to interest themselves in his success. He gained the universal affection of the soldiers, and was often known to refuse himself necessities that he might relieve them in their distress.

At the age of 32 he was raised to the command of the Army, and shewed himself no less qualified to guide the State by his Councils, than to defend it by his Valour. Humanity, disinterestedness and a noble simplicity accompanied him in his victories: Religion purified and perfected all his Virtues; in a word he merited the Elogium of having been THE \* SUP-

\* Words of the Queen-mother Anne of Austria.

# DEDICATION.

PORT OF THE THRONE, *the Father of his Soldiers, the Delight of his Countrymen,* and † AN HONOUR TO HUMAN KIND.

ONLY HOPE OF AN ILLUSTRIOUS HOUSE, behold here your model: read this work incessantly; and whenever you are going to commit any of those faults that are but too common with youth, ask yourself, *Would Turenne have done this?* Hasten to get out of the state of childhood, and shew betimes, that you will one day be worthy of the Heroes whose blood flows in your veins: they call upon you to tread in their steps, and I already perceive that you will hearken to their admonition: it is by this alone that you can recompense the assiduity, the zeal, and the extreme tenderness of a faithful servant who has devoted himself to the care of your education.

De R A M S A Y.

† Words of Montecuculli.

# ADVERTISEMENT.

The Author of this History has been so happy as to find materials for it of indisputable authority.

I. **T**HE *Memoirs of the Viscount de Turenne*, written with his own hand ten years before his death : they contain the History of his campaigns from the year 1643, in which he was made Marshal of France, to the Peace of the Pyrenees.

II. A great number of letters from the Viscount to Queen Anne of Austria, Lewis the XIVth, the Prince of Condé, Cardinal Mazarin, and the Secretaries of State ; to Kings, Electors, and other foreign Princes, and to his friends and relations ; also several instructions which he drew up by the King's order, for the Ambassadors of France at Vienna, Madrid, London, the Hague, in Sweden and in Portugal. The Viscount's *Memoirs* abovementioned and some of his Letters and Instructions, the originals of which are preserved in his Family, are printed at the end of this work.

III. The *Memoirs of the Duke of York*, afterwards James II. King of Great-Britain, who served four years with the Viscount during the Civil Wars, and two years with the Prince of Condé in the Spanish Army : both which great Generals admir'd the Duke's bravery and capacity. The night or next day after any action had happened, he wrote in his own tongue an account of what he had been witness of, and afterwards shewed it to the General. The original manuscript was deposited in the Scots College at Paris. In 1696. King James caused that part of his *Memoirs* which regarded the Viscount de Turenne to be translated into French, and gave it to the late Cardinal de Bouillon : eight years after, the Queen his Consort sent that Cardinal another translation of the same *Memoirs*, signed with her own hand, sealed with her broad seal, and counter signed by my Lord Caryll Secretary of State.

IV. The Manuscript memoirs of Fremont d'Ablancourt : The Viscount, in whose interest he was, and who had employed him in the negotiations with Portugal and Germa-

ny,



## ADVERTISEMENT.

ny, had often entertained him with the particulars of his education, his youth and his apprenticeship in the art of war : and 'tis from him chiefly that we have taken what relates to the first years of the Viscount's life.

V. *The Memoirs of Langlade Secretary to Frederic Maurice Duke of Bouillon, the Viscount de Turenne's brother.* Langlade is the less to be suspected in what he says to the Viscount's advantage, as he complains of him for having stood in the way of his advancement. The King intending to send Langlade on an embassy into foreign countries, asked Marshal Turenne's opinion of his capacity; the Marshal ingenuously answered, I love and esteem him; but I think him better qualified for any other employment than that for which your Majesty designs him.

VI. *Deschamps's work: The Prince of Condé afterwards placed this Gentleman about his grandson the Duke of Bourbon, because he was an able Officer, and very capable to contribute to the education of that young Prince.* Deschamps served under the Viscount in his two last campaigns, of which he has wrote the History; it was revised and approved by the Marshal de Lorges the Viscount's nephew. His stile is neither elegant nor correct; but he has there clearly set forth the conduct of the Generals.

VII. *The manuscript History of the Abbot Raguenet: he wrote the Viscount's Life by the order and under the inspection of Cardinal de Bouillon, who had learnt several particulars from his Uncle's own mouth, or from authorities no less to be depended upon.* The facts which the Abbot relates are true, the dates exact, and the narration clear, but he seems rather to have wrote a Journal than a History.

VIII. *The author has carefully read over most of the writers of any credit who have treated of the transactions and events of the Viscount's time, such as Puffendorf, Vittorio-Siri, Walkenier, Retz, Rochefoucault, Bardee, Monglat, General Morgan an Englishman, who has given a relation of the battle of Dunes, and several others whom 'tis needless to mention.*

IX. *As to the particulars of the last campaigns the Viscount made,*

## ADVERTISEMENT.

*made, the author has consulted the Marquis d'Imecourt, Governor of Montmedi and Lieutenant-General in the King's Army, who was an eye-witness of most of the Viscount's exploits after the war with Holland. The Marquis had often heard the Viscount speak of the reasons of his military actions and designs: he was moreover for several years very intimate with the Marshals de Duras and de Lorges and the principal Officers that were formed under the Viscount.*

*In order to digest these materials into one connected History, the author has intermixed political negotiations with military expeditions: he has endeavoured in several places to set forth the state of Europe in general, that of France in particular, the intrigues of the Court, the interests of the Princes and the characters of the contemporary Generals, with a view to shew the origin of those wars in which the Viscount displayed his abilities. He has however taken care to keep the Viscount always in sight, to avoid every thing that has not some relation to the History of his Life, and not to let the principal object be lost in a multitude of episodical details.*

*When the author has wanted authentick Memoirs he has not taken the liberty to supply that defect by conjecture: he has always scrupulously preferred truth to probability, knowing that historians have not, like poets, a privilege of inventing in order to embellish. From the same regard to the Laws of History, which no more permit to suppress what is true than to assert what is false, he has not dissembled the Viscount de Turenne's faults: too perfect a virtue seems inimitable; it discourages some, irritates others, and is suspected by all, because men, how great soever they be, have still some mark upon them to shew that they are but men.*

*As the only end of this work is to transmit to posterity the memory of a man, whose civil and military virtues will always serve as a model to good subjects and great Captains, the author has endeavoured to use a clear, natural and easy style without aiming at ornaments which are never proper in History, much less in the life of a man, the most distinguishing part of whose character was a noble simplicity.*

THE

T H E

## HISTORY

O F

HENRY DE LA TOUR,

Viscount de TURENNE.

## BOOK I.

**H**ENRY, Viscount de Turenne, was born at Sedan the eleventh of September 1611, of Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne Duke of Bouillon, Sovereign of Sedan, and Elizabeth de Nassau daughter to William de Nassau, the first of that name, Prince of Orange, and Charlotte de Bourbon Montpensier.

The Viscount de Turenne's birth,

The Duke of Bouillon, the Viscount's father, was, according to all the historians of those times, a man of distinguished merit. He learnt the art of war in the midst of the troubles with which France was agitated during the tempestuous reigns of Charles IX, and Henry III. Being from his tender years attach'd to the person of Henry IV, he became \* *the Lieutenant, the Friend, and the Companion* of that Hero. He display'd his military virtues against the Dukes of Guise, Mayenne and Parma, and all the Generals of the League. Henry the Great intrusted him with negotiations of the utmost importance in England,

The character of the Duke of Bouillon the Viscount's father.

\* The words of Henry IV,

in the United Provinces, and at the Courts of the Princes of Germany. The Duke had a clear head, his designs were masterly, he was fruitful in expedients, and ever intent upon his main point. He knew men, and was no less complaisant in humouring, than skillful in discovering their tastes and inclinations; he had the secret of managing their passions, and cou'd put in motion every spring of the human soul. The vivacity of his genius was temper'd by a solid judgment, which made him observe a due medium between a rash precipitancy, and a too circumspective slowness. Being bred up under the care of the Constable of Montmorency his mother's father, in an ignorance but too common at that time among the prime Nobility of France, he of his own accord applied himself to the study of mathematics, history, politics, morality, and all the sciences which might equally qualify him for council, and for execution. His proficiency in those sciences contributed perhaps as much as his birth and valour towards placing him at the head of the Calvinist party; an advantage of which nothing but religious prejudices could have made him ambitious, and which did him less honour than the character of *Father and Protector of Learning*, which he justly acquired by founding an Academy at Sedan. It is impossible to behold without regret the lustre of so many noble qualities tarnished by politics, where the end was pursued without sufficient scruple about the choice of the means.

The Viscount's education.

\* The Duke omitted nothing that was proper for the education of his sons, Frederic Maurice Prince of Sedan, and the Viscount de Turenne who was five years younger than the Prince. As the intimate union which always subsisted between the two brothers had an influence upon the principal actions of the

\* The historical facts of this book are taken from the Manuscript memoirs of Fremont d'Abancourt, the Memoirs of Langlade, Vittorio Siri, and Monglas, and from Puffendorf *de Rebus Suecicis*.

Vif-



Viscount's life, and the counsels and example of the one frequently determined the conduct of the other, it will be impossible to avoid sometimes intermixing the history of the elder with that of the younger. They were both educated at Sedan in the Protestant Religion, and thoroughly instructed in its principles and tenets. The Prince of Sedan was placed under the tuition of the famous du Moulin a rigid Calvinist, and the Viscount under that of Daniel Tilenus, a Calvinist too, but of the tolerating principle; and to this perhaps might be chiefly owing the delay of the Viscount's conversion; because of all the Protestant systems, that of toleration seems the least unreasonable. As soon as the elder brother's education was finished he was sent to Holland to learn the art of war under his uncle Prince Maurice, while the younger continued his studies at Sedan.

\* The Viscount de Turenne was in his infancy of a very tender constitution, and it continued weak till he was twelve years of age, which made his father often say, that he would never be able to bear the fatigues of war. To convince him of the contrary, the Viscount took a resolution, when he was but ten years old, of passing a winter's night on the rampart of Sedan. † The Chevalier de Vassignac, his Governor, having spent some time in quest of him, found him asleep on the carriage of a cannon. From that time he gave frequent indications of his extreme passion for war.

At his first entrance on his studies he learnt with difficulty; and his slowness of parts being mistaken for a want of application, brought upon him corrections which served only to give him an equal aversion to his instructors, and their instructions. His father therefore took another course with him, he piqued

\* See the Memoirs of Mr. de Langlade who had been Secretary to the Duke of Bouillon.

† He was great uncle to the Marquis d'Imécourt Lieutenant General in the French Troops,


him in point of honour, and made him sensible how unworthy it was of a man designed for a warrior, not to be able to conquer himself. A motive so noble proved much more forcible than severity: The young Viscount applied himself to study out of a mere principle of magnanimity, and by degrees reconciled his affections to it so happily, that he remember'd some of the most beautiful passages of the Latin and French Poets even at an advanced age.

An. 1623.

His love for  
the character  
of Alexander  
the Great.

\* In his youth he was very fond of reading history, and especially the lives of such great men as had distinguished themselves by military virtues and accomplishments: He was mightily taken with the character of Alexander the Great; the genius of that Conqueror suited the taste of the young Viscount, whose ambition would probably have pushed him on to the most glorious enterprizes, had he lived in those times when valour alone authorized men to disturb the peace of the universe. He took a singular pleasure in reading Quintus Curtius, and in relating to others the heroic actions he found in that author: On these occasions his whole gesture became more animated than usual, his eyes sparkled, and his imagination being heated got the better of the natural difficulty he had in speaking. An officer one day took the liberty to tell him, that his favourite historian was no better than a writer of romances; which touched the young Viscount to the quick. The Duchess of Bouillon made a sign to the officer to persist; the dispute grew warm, the boy fell into a passion, left the company abruptly, and privately sent the officer a challenge, which he accepted in order to divert the Duchess, who was highly pleas'd to see those early marks of courage in her son. The next day the Viscount went out of town under pretence of hunting, and arriving at the place of ren-

\* This passage is taken from the manuscript Memoirs of Mr. de Fre-mont d'Ablancourt.

dezvous, he there found a table ready spread. As An. 1623.  
 he was considering what this preparation could mean,   
 the Duchefs of Bouillon appear'd, accompanied by  
 the officer, and told her fon ſhe was come to be ſe-  
 cond to the Gentleman, with whom he was to fight;  
 the ſportsmen came up; breakfast was ſerved,  
 peace concluded, and the duel changed into a hunt-  
 ing match.

He was not yet twelve years of age when his fa-  
 ther died, after a life full of agitation, with a mix-  
 ture of good and bad ſucceſs, but ſtill attended with  
 glory. The young Viſcount's private education was  
 continued under the care of the Duchefs his mother  
 for a whole year. It was during that time that he  
 learnt his exerciſes, in which he ſucceeded better  
 than in his ſtudies, and in leſs than a year was able  
 to ride the moſt ungovernable horſes. The Count  
 de Rouffy, who was afterwards his brother-in-law,  
 brought one to Sedan ſo vicious and fiery that no  
 body would venture to mount him. The Viſcount  
 animated by the example of Alexander, who about  
 the ſame age broke his Bucephalus, reſolved to imi-  
 tate him, and in ſpight of all the remonſtrances of  
 his ſervants, terrified at the danger to which he ex-  
 poſed himſelf, perſiſted in his reſolution, mounted  
 the fiery horſe, managed him with addreſs, and  
 broke him.

The Viſ-  
count learns  
his exerciſes.

But courage was not the only good quality he diſ-  
 cover'd in his youth: from his earlieſt years he was  
 remarkable for a diſcretion becoming a riper age; an  
 invariable taſte for whatever was reaſonable; a great  
 command of his paſſions, though of a lively temper  
 and eaſily moved; a mildneſs and moderation that  
 ſeem'd more the reſult of reflection, than the effect  
 of conſtitution; a predominant love of truth, a na-  
 tural abhorrence of lying, cunning and diſſimulation;  
 and above all ſuch uncommon humanity, and cha-  
 rity, that he relieved ſeveral poor families in Sedan

An. 1624.  
The Viſ-  
count's qua-  
lities in his  
youth.

An. 1624. with the money allow'd him for his pocket expences, and indulged himself in no superfluities of dress, that he might be in a condition of assisting those who wanted necessaries.

His first journey into Holland.

He was scarce thirteen years old when the Duchess of Bouillon resolved to send him into Holland, whether the Prince of Sedan his elder brother had been sent before. Europe was at this time involv'd in blood and slaughter. It will be proper here to give a summary account of the origin of those factions and civil wars wherein it had been a long time embroiled, that the reader may have a view of the theatre, on which the Viscount is going to appear.

A general view of the situation of Europe and of the religious wars.

Superstitious practices introduced in contempt of rules, the idle disputes of some scholastics, and the corrupt morals of part of the Clergy, had been the chief sources of all the scandals which prevail'd in the Church. Those who had a mind to shake off its yoke, came gradually to confound the abuses of religion with its principles, opinions with doctrines, and what was only tolerated with what was commanded. Obedience, the only means of uniting the multitude incapable of reasoning, quickly became odious. The Protestants divided themselves into two principal sects, of which Luther and Calvin were the heads. The enthusiasts and unbelievers made several divisions and subdivisions, appealing from the tribunal of authority to that of private inspiration, or presumptuous reason. \*From the schools the fire of discord spread quickly to the Courts of Princes; and every one espoused that party which best suited with his genius, or politics. Interest, ambition, a love of independence, fondness of being at the head of a faction, brutal passions, and refined vices assumed the disguise of religion, stirr'd up rebellion against the two powers ecclesiastical and ci-


\* The history of the wars which preceded the peace of Westphalia, written by Fa. Bougeant of the society of Jesus.



vil, and every where produced great revolutions. An. 1624. Gustavus Vasa having snatched the Crown of Sweden from Christiern II, and being incensed at the avarice and ambition of the Archbishop of Upsal, embraced Lutheranism, while Frederic Duke of Holstein, who had seized on Denmark and Norway, introduced the same sect in those Kingdoms. Henry VIII King of England hurried that Nation into a schism for the sake of his amours, and to seize upon the excessive riches of the Clergy. The Scots forced Mary Stuart their Queen into banishment, and that unhappy Princess having been first the victim of her own weakness, became a martyr to her religion. During the minority of Henry the second's children, Calvinism involved France in all the horrors of civil war. The jealousy which some of the Princes of Germany entertain'd of the house of Austria, occasioned the Germanic body to divide it self into two factions, the EVANGELICAL UNION and the CATHOLIC LEAGUE. Switzerland followed the example of Germany, tho' the manly simplicity and honest plain sense of the Swiss ought naturally to have secur'd them from those excesses into which men are hurry'd by presumption. The Protestants of Bohemia threw off the yoke of their lawful King Ferdinand the second, and this war, by an insensible progress, put all Europe into a flame. The United Provinces, driven to despair by the inhumanity of the Duke of Alba, freed themselves from the Spanish domination under the conduct of William Prince of Orange. All these calamities and revolutions were the fruits of a mistaken zeal, the fatal effects of which were still felt when the Viscount de Turenne prepared to begin his apprenticeship in war.

The affairs of the Dutch were at this time in a much more flourishing condition than they had been under the great Prince William. They had for several

The state of the affairs of Holland when the Viscount went thither.

An. 1624. veral years struggled against the powerful Monarchy of Spain, were seldom victorious, and often driven to extremities. This war had already lasted near 60 years, and had cost the King of Spain immense sums, and almost a million of men. All Europe was in astonishment to see that great Monarch, with all the treasures of the Indies, not able to reduce a petty Republic, which was so weak in its beginnings, that to represent its piteous condition, the Hollanders had stampt upon their money a ship in the midst of a stormy sea without sails, without masts, and just ready to perish. The surprising exploits of Prince Maurice, the Viscount's uncle by the mother, had reviv'd their courage and repaired their strength. Tho' but 16 years old when first call'd to the command of the army, he had by this time establish'd the Commonwealth upon a foot which made her respected by her neighbours, and fear'd by her enemies. He had forced the Spaniards to recognize Holland for a free and sovereign State. He had made a truce with them for twelve years in 1609. This truce expiring in 1621, hostilities were then renewed, and the Spaniards despaired of success in the war while that Hero liv'd. He was a Prince of admirable judgment, extraordinary valour and consummate prudence. He had the talent of insinuation, a majestic air, and all the qualities of a man born to be the founder of a Commonwealth, to discipline an army, and establish civil polity among a people.

An. 1625. The Duchess of Bouillon, having learnt that Cardinal Richelieu had laid a design to compleat the destruction of the Huguenots; would not suffer her son the Viscount de Turenne to serve in a war against those of her own Religion. She sent him into Holland towards the beginning of the year 1625. Prince Maurice his uncle received him with great kindness, and being desirous thoroughly to know his

his character, discours'd with him often in private. *An. 1625.*  
 The Viscount had no natural eloquence, nor any thing outward that was very shining; but Prince Maurice quickly discover'd the qualities in which he excelled, and neglected nothing to unfold and improve them. This great General being persuaded that there are an infinity of useful knowledges, which are only to be acquired by descending to the lowest employments, and that the success of the greatest actions depends oftentimes upon such minutenesses as cannot be known but by entering into all the detail of war, treated the Viscount in the same manner that he had done the Prince of Sedan, and made him carry a musket before he rais'd him to any post of command. The Viscount served at first as a volunteer, and shewed such resolution, patience, and application, as made his uncle conceive the greatest hopes of him: But in three months after the Viscount's arrival in Holland Prince \* Maurice died. Henry Frederick his brother succeeded to his estate, to the government of the Provinces, and the command of the Army. As the Spaniards then redoubled their efforts to crush the Commonwealth, she renewed her alliance offensive and defensive with France; and Cardinal Richelieu finding that he should stand in need of the maritime forces of the Dutch to besiege Rochelle, apply'd himself more than ever to cement the union between the King his Master and the United Provinces.

Prince Henry gave his nephew a company of foot, and the Viscount discharged the duties of an officer with the same exactness that he had done those of a private soldier: His company made the finest appearance and was the best disciplin'd of any in the Army: Young as he was, he did not rely upon the care of a Lieutenant, but exercis'd the sol-

*An. 1626.*  
 The Viscount is made Captain of foot.

\* He died the 23d of April 1625, at 58 years of age, according to Baillet, Histoire de Hollande, Tome I. pag. 439.

An. 1626. diers himself, forming them with patience, and correcting them with mildness; he strictly requir'd of them not only a great exactness in the service, but a perfect regularity of manners; he engag'd them to obedience by kindness, and refus'd himself sometimes even necessities to give them proofs of his liberality; he treated the other soldiers with the same goodness, so that he gain'd the affections of all. Inuring himself to hardship, he could be content with little, and was thereby secure of being but seldom in want.

An. 1627. The Viscount served in quality of Captain at the sieges of Klundert, Williamstadt and Groll, and in most of Prince Henry's expeditions against the famous Spanish General Spinola. He neglected no opportunity of getting instruction. You might see him continually with a measuring rod or a pencil in his hand; he examined and considered every thing that offer'd, and he made his remarks upon the answers he receiv'd from the officers, engineers, pioneers and even the meanest soldiers, to his questions.

An. 1628. Wholly intent upon his point, the desire of learning made him despise all dangers, and he was very soon in a condition to give an exact account of all that pass'd. Far from affecting to display his talents with ostentation, he sought instruction from his seniors, putting questions to them with politeness, listening to their answers with visible pleasure, and by his docility engaging them to communicate to him what they knew. He thought much, talk'd little, and when any question was asked him, confin'd himself wholly to the answer, speaking always with modesty and diffidence. Having thus spent three years in the study of the military art, the siege of Bois-le-Duc furnish'd him with opportunities of shewing in a more signal manner the progress he had made.

This



This place was of great importance : the Dutch An. 1629<sup>\*</sup> exerted all their efforts to take it, and the Spaniards theirs to defend it. It was commonly called the *\* Maid of Brabant*, because it had never been taken, tho' several times besieg'd. The waters which for two thirds of the year overflow'd the country all round it to a great distance, made it almost inaccessible. It was encompass'd with a very thick wall strengthened by seven great bastions, and defended by broad and deep ditches. The four principal avenues were each of them guarded by a fort with bastions, and upon the rest were several small forts or redoubts. Antoine Schetz Baron de Grobendonck Governor of the place was a man of consummate ability and experience in war, but the garrison consisted only of 2300 foot and 4 troops of horse. The very first day of the siege he sent away, with the permission of the Prince of Orange, all the women and children he could, and maintain'd by all his actions the high reputation he had acquir'd. He receiv'd an unexpected succour of 800 men from the garrison of Breda, who through almost impassable morasses and overflow'd grounds stole by night into Bois-le-Duc after it had been besieg'd four days.

Siege of  
Bois-le-Duc.  
\* La pucella  
du Brabant.

The Prince of Orange had invested the place the April 30. last of April with an army of 30000 men, exclusive of a reinforcement of 6000 sent him by the States. He spent ten days entire in securing his camp by lines of circumvallation, with very broad and steep trenches fill'd with water by the overflowing of three small rivers, which he had damm'd up to hinder their course thro' the town, and to make use of them for conveying into his camp the ammunition and provisions brought him from the Meuse by Creve-Cœur. Diverse forts with bastions at proper distances were rais'd by his orders ; and the quarters were distributed for attacking the town and outworks at four different places.

The

An. 1629. The Viscount de Turenne had seen all these dispositions, he had been witness of all the orders given, he observed when, how, and by whom they were executed, he looked narrowly into every thing that pass'd. The day that he was commanded into the trenches was to him a day of repose rather than fatigue, because those who are upon this kind of service are obliged to stay a long time in the same post. The third of June the Prince of Orange order'd the Viscount to raise the battery of Four-and-twenty-pounders that made the first discharge. It was placed in the line of communication between the English and the French, who were making their approach on the side of fort Isabel by the Prince of Orange's quarter. He was afterwards charg'd with the direction of different works, and order'd to force some posts. Scarce had he perform'd these commissions, but he went to view the other attacks, where he examin'd how the sapps, and the rest of the operations were carried on, and what was the design of each of them. In a word he was every where, and it was hard to distinguish whether by order or as a volunteer. His Governor in vain endeavour'd to dissuade him from exposing his person when not obliged to it. The Viscount was deaf to all he cou'd say upon this head; on other occasions he respected him as a father. The Prince of Orange likewise thought it necessary to reprimand him for his excess of courage; yet while he reprov'd him he could not dissemble his joy, and turning to the officers who were present, said, *I am much mistaken or this young man will one day equal the greatest Captains.* Nevertheless to restrain the ardour of his nephew, he order'd him to keep for the future near his person. The very next day the Viscount had a favourable opportunity of getting this order recall'd. He earnestly requested and obtain'd leave to follow his brother the Prince of Sedan,

Sedan, now Duke of Bouillon. Prince Henry was An. 1630. sending him with a detachment of Dutch troops to intercept four or five hundred men of the garrison of Breda, who were coming to throw themselves into Bois-le-Duc. The detachment marched and met the enemy: the action was brisk on both sides, and the Spaniards were routed. The Viscount who had fought near his brother, pursued the enemy so eagerly, as not to perceive that the victorious troops had halted. The Duke of Bouillon in person carried the news of the defeat of the Spaniards to the Prince of Orange, telling him at the same time that he knew not what was become of the Viscount; immediate search being made, they at length found him; he was returning with some horse that had followed him, and, not without anxiety, enquiring news of his brother. As soon as his apprehensions were removed, he went back to meet his Governor, who had been wounded near him, and whom he had quitted only to inform himself of the fate of the Duke of Bouillon.

The Spaniards in the field flattering themselves Bois-le-Duc and several other places taken. that they should be able to make the enemy raise the siege, encouraged the garrison to hope for speedy succour. And indeed the Marquis de Bergues who commanded the Spanish army appear'd with it before the entrenchments, but found them in such good order that he durst not attempt to force them; he retired, and the siege was continued with more vigour than before. The Governor having then no longer any hopes of being relieved, capitulated after Sept. 14<sup>th</sup> a four months siege, and the Prince of Orange granted him all the honours that so brave a defence had deserved.

After the siege of Bois-le-Duc Prince Henry drove An. 1630 the Imperialists and Spaniards entirely out of the United Provinces, and then seized all the places they possessed upon the Lower Rhine.

The

An. 1630. The Viscount serv'd five years in Holland, but the war in that country being confined wholly to sieges, and not opening a field vast enough to his ambition of perfecting himself in the military art, he wish'd earnestly to return into France, and it was not long before the situation of the affairs of his family call'd him thither.

The Viscount enters into the service of France in quality of Colonel of foot.

Cardinal Richelieu having formed a design of forcing the Duchess of Bouillon to receive a French garrison into Sedan, that Princess immediately recalled the Viscount de Turenne from Holland, and sent him into France as a hostage to prevent any measures being taken to the prejudice of her eldest son's Sovereignty. The young Viscount coming to Court was received by the King and the Cardinal with all the marks of distinction due to his birth, and to the reputation he had acquired, which was already spread in France. Tho' he was then but nineteen years old, a regiment of foot was immediately given him. We don't find either in the printed memoirs, or in the manuscripts preserved by his family, any particular account of him from that time till the siege of la Motte, at which he served four years after; but before we speak of his services in France, it will be proper to take a view of the state of affairs in the Kingdom.

The state of the Kingdom when the Viscount enter'd the service.

Lewis the XIII<sup>th</sup>, then on the throne, shewed himself on all occasions a Prince of great valour, and he was well skilled in the whole art of war. He had penetration enough to choose able Ministers, and commonly regulated his actions by their councils. He had discerned the superior genius of Cardinal Richelieu, a Man endowed with all the talents that could render him worthy of his Master's choice. This Minister was no sooner at the helm of affairs, than he turned his thoughts to reduce the power of the House of Austria both in the Empire and in Spain; to make arts and commerce flourish, and to enlarge



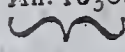
enlarge the bounds of the French Monarchy. Such was the Cardinal's plan, but he would engage in no enterprize abroad, till he had appeased the troubles at home. An. 1630.

When he enter'd upon the Administration, he found the Royal Authority weaken'd and divided. The Queen Mother Marie de Medicis, the Duke of Orleans the King's brother, the Princes of the blood, and the prime Nobility of the Kingdom all pretended to a share in the Government: The Parliament likewise was for meddling with affairs of State, and the Calvinists were contriving how to form an independent Commonwealth in the heart of France. All these malcontents held correspondences with the neighbouring Princes, particularly with the Dukes of Savoy, Lorraine and Bouillon, who by the means of Pignerol, Nancy and Sedan afforded them ready and secure retreats. The Cardinal's first care was to find out proper means for remedying these evils; and he succeeded. As the dividing of the Sovereign Power had been the source of all the disorders in the State, he was sensible that the only way to cure those disorders was by putting an end to that division; and that there was no means to gain respect to authority, but by making it all center in the sole person of the King. He began by destroying the power of the Huguenots. He besieged Rochelle, took from them that place which was thought impregnable, seized on all their fortresses, and put an end to those religious wars\*, which had shaken the very foundations of the Monarchy†. He obliged the Queen Mother, who was mother-in-law to three Sovereigns, the King of Spain, the King of England, and the Duke of Savoy, to quit the Kingdom, and to lead an unsettled wandering life, not one of those three Potentates daring to receive her into his Do-

\* See Puffendorf, *Hist. de l'Europe*, Tom. II. p. 183.

† In 1631.

minions.

An. 1630.  minions. He forced the Princes of the Blood to keep themselves quiet, respect the Royal Authority, and be satisfy'd with their own demesnes and dependencies, or to share the fate of the unfortunate Marie de Medicis. He humbled the power of the Grandees, who were become unmanageable, were continually caballing against the Minister, and would not obey even the King himself, but while he left them in the exercise of an absolute authority in their respective Governments; and lastly he confined the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Paris within its due bounds.

Affairs were in this posture when Cardinal Richelieu made the Duchess Dowager of Bouillon, the Viscount de Turenne's mother \*, sign a treaty, by which she engaged to continue firm to the interests of France, the King at the same time promising to protect the House of Bouillon. He afterwards obliged † Victor Amadeus Duke of Savoy, by the treaty of Querasque, to surrender Pignerol and its dependencies to the King, to be united for ever to the Crown of France: || And he sent an army into Lorrain to punish the levity of Charles the 4th, Sovereign of that State.

Lorrain invaded.

This Prince was born with extraordinary talents; but his strange unaccountable conduct render'd them all useless and even hurtful to his subjects. He had indeed prudently married his cousin the Princess Nicole, daughter to the late Duke, and by thus uniting all the rights to the Duchy of Lorrain, had prevented the difficulties that might have been started in regard to succession. But as this match was formed only on political views, Charles's disposition to gallantry, and his wife's jealous humour, soon occasioned such quarrels between them, as produced a separation; and the Princess retired into France to implore the protection of Lewis XIII, which was granted. Charles on the other hand adhered to the House of

\* In the year 1630.

† 1631.

|| 1633.

Austria; and this attachment furnish'd the Cardinal with a pretext to possess himself of Nancy, and afterwards of all Lorrain.

No place of any importance remain'd untaken, but the fortress of la Motte, situated on the top of a very high rock, so hard as to be almost proof against sapping and undermining. The French laid siege to it in the beginning of March; their quarters were but a league or two from the place; the enemy were at the distance of above fifty. As soon as the Marshal de la Force arrived before la Motte, he drew a line of circumvallation of about a league, raised seven batteries consisting all together of thirty cannon, and made dispositions for four attacks. At the same time five mines were dug, though with much difficulty on account of the hardness of the rock. When the works were so far advanced as that the besiegers cou'd batter a bastion, the Marshal order'd his son, the Marquis de Tonneins, upon that service, who met with a warm reception, and was forced to retire. The next day the Viscount de Turenne mounted the trenches with his Regiment, to attack the same bastion; and his reputation engaged the attention of the army to the success of that enterprize. The besieged not only fired very briskly, but likewise rolled stones of an enormous size from the top of the parapet, which falling on the points of the rock, broke into a thousand pieces, and killed or disabled those who ventured to approach. The Viscount marched to the breach through all these dangers, and his soldiers, encouraged by his example, seem'd to have forgot all fear. The Lorrainers, animated by the advantages they had gain'd the day before, fought with fresh ardour, and redoubled their efforts, but in vain; the Viscount drove them from the bastion, and made a lodgment upon it\*. What was most remarkable

An. 1634.  
The siege  
of la Motte;  
where the  
Viscount was  
made Major  
General.

\* Mem. de Bussy Rabutin, Vol. I. p. 7.

An. 1634. at this siege was, that the Governor being killed, his brother, a Capuchin Friar, continued the defence of the place. It surrender'd, after a siege of five months; during which the Viscount de Turenne so distinguished himself that the success of the enterprise was thought to be chiefly owing to his valour and skill. He received compliments from the whole Army on this occasion, and even from the Marquis de Tonneins, who wou'd have been jealous of a competitor less modest: but the Viscount had nothing in his behaviour or discourse that favour'd either of self applause or a contempt for any one; he never shock'd the self-love of others, because he always forgot the interests of his own; and by this conduct he dispos'd all who observ'd him to commend him equally for his courage and his modesty. It was under these impressions that the Marshal de la Force spoke of him in the relation he sent to Court of the siege of la Motte; which engaged the Cardinal to raise the Viscount to the rank of Major General at the age of twenty three, tho' this post was then the next in dignity to that of Marshal of France, there being as yet no Lieutenant Generals in the French armies.

The Duke of Bouillon, brother to the Viscount, quits the service of Holland and becomes a Catholic.

About this time the Duke of Bouillon quitted the service of Holland. The Prince of Orange being in an advanced age, and having but one son a child in the cradle, cast his eyes on his nephew to be his successor in the Government of the United Provinces, intending likewise to give him one of his daughters in marriage, the same that was afterwards married to the Elector of Brandenburg; but love oppos'd the Duke of Bouillon's fortune. In spite of his own ambition and his mother's remonstrances he married Eleanor, Countess of Bergues \* whose beauty, wit and virtue were no less illustrious than

\* She descended from the ancient House of the Counts de Bergues in Gelderland.



her birth. He never repented of the sacrifices he made to this Lady, but constantly preserv'd all the esteem and tendernefs for her which the most amiable qualities, accompanied with exterior charms, can inspire. The regularity of her conduct, her piety void of ostentation, and free from all trifling devotions, disposed the Duke of Bouillon to examine the doubts and difficulties her conversation had raised in his mind concerning Calvinism. He soon perceived\*, as he himself said, "the absurdity of a sect, whose fundamental principles, by destroying human liberty, do by natural consequence make God the author of evil." It was below a man of an elevated soul, like the Duke of Bouillon, to disseminate his sentiments: he declared them soon after the siege of Maestricht, and was reconciled to the Catholick Church. By this act he lost his establishment in Holland; and he resolved to adhere to France, where he had an ample fortune. Towards the close of this year he arrived at the Court of Lewis XIII, where he was well received by the King, the Princes of the Blood, and especially by the Count de Soissons, who treated him with particular distinction, and express'd a great desire of making him his friend. The Cardinal likewise had several conversations with him, but it was easy to foresee that the opposition of their characters would always prove an obstacle to a close union between them. The Republican principles which the Duke of Bouillon had imbibed in Holland, under his uncles, the Princes of Orange, did by no means fall in with the Cardinal's scheme of absolute power. The Duke did not stay long at Court, he return'd to Sedan, without having any reason either to be much pleas'd with the Minister, or to complain of him.

The Cardinal having secured the city of Sedan, dispossessed the Duke of Lorraine of his dominions,

*Cardinal de Richelieu's general plan.*

\* In a letter to his sister.

An. 1634. obliged the Duke of Savoy to give up Pignerol, appeased the domestic troubles, and united the whole strength of the Kingdom in one undivided supreme power, at length discover'd his grand project against the two branches of the House of Austria, Spain and the Empire. To avoid frequent interruptions of the narration in the course of this History, and shew the origin of the different wars, which led the Viscount successively into Flanders, Spain, Italy, and Germany, we shall here give an account of the situation of Europe, at the time of the rupture between the two Crowns of France and Spain, and endeavour to unfold the political interests of the several Potentates, who then declared for or against France; and particularly the motives to the long wars of Germany, that lasted till the peace of Munster, to which the Viscount contributed very much by the success of his arms.

The state of  
Spain.

Philip IV was on the throne of Spain: the strength of that Kingdom was diminished since the demise of Charles V, who had himself given the first blow to the power of his family, by dividing the Empire from Spain, and resigning the Provinces of Germany to his brother Ferdinand. The settling of Colonies in the Indies, the long wars maintain'd in the Low Countries, the succours sent to the Leaguers in France, the loss of the Fleet design'd against England, the banishment of the Moors under Philip the III, in 1609, all these had, in the space of seventy years, exhausted Spain of men and money. She nevertheless appear'd still a formidable Power in the eyes of all Europe. She was not only mistress of the whole Country beyond the Pyrenees, but extended her authority over a great part of Italy, where she possessed the Kingdom of Naples and the Milanese: She reckon'd Sicily and Sardinia among her Provinces: Portugal then belong'd to her: Roussillon and Franche-Comté were parts

parts of her dominion ; and the Hollanders, masters only of the seven United Provinces, had left her the other ten ; so that France was, in a manner, block'd up and streighten'd on all sides by the King of Spain's dominions. Besides the two Indies, where Philip IV possess'd immense countries, he had a great number of strong places on the coasts of Africa, which kept the Kings of Barbary in awe. A large fleet of galleons join'd the two Indies to Spain by means of the Ocean ; and several squadrons of galleys on the Mediterranean maintain'd a communication between that Kingdom and Italy. Cardinal Richelieu was not dazzled with all this splendor : through the appearance of so great a strength, he discern'd the real weakness of Spain, and perceived that she had no longer any thing to support her but the reputation she had formerly acquired. He could not, however, declare war against the House of Austria reigning in Spain, without at the same time attacking its younger branch and ally, which held the Empire, where it had made it self formidable to all the Princes of Germany.

Ferdinand II, Archduke of Austria, King of Bohemia and Hungary, succeeding to the Imperial Crown on the death of Matthias, in the year 1618, the Protestants of Bohemia refused to obey him, and chose the Elector Palatine, chief of the *Evangelical Union*, for their King. \* This Prince accepted of the offer made him by the Bohemians, flattering himself that all the Protestant Powers would interest themselves in his quarrel : the Hungarians, the Silesians, the Moravians, and a great part of the Upper Austria declared in his favour. On the other hand, Ferdinand engaged in his in-


An. 1634.



The state of the Empire.

\* The other principal members of the Evangelical Union were the Duke of Wirtemberg, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the Prince of Anhalt, and the Marquises of Anspach, and Baden-Dourlach.



An. 1634.  terest the Duke of Bavaria, the head of the *Catholic League*\*: the Pope afterwards sent him considerable sums, and the King of Spain promis'd him a body of troops. Ferdinand's first success was his gaining the famous battle of Prague, on the eighth of November 1620; and from that time it was one continued course of victories. The Elector, his competitor, was driven out of Bohemia, deprived of his dominions, and degraded from his Electoral Dignity, which was transferred to the Duke of Bavaria.

The King of England, father in law to the Palatine, and the King of Denmark, who had married that Elector's sister, supported his interest: the United Provinces made him a promise of men and money; and even France privately favour'd the Protestant League, and the degraded Palatine. The war continued full seven years; and during that time, the famous Walsstein, General to the Emperor, entirely ruined the Protestant party, forced the King of Denmark to quit Germany, repress'd and kept within bounds the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, and dispossessed the Duke of Mecklenburg of his Dominions, of which he obtained the investiture for himself. This long series of success made Ferdinand formidable to Germany and all his neighbours: France grew jealous of him, and the Cardinal turn'd his thoughts to find some means of stopping so rapid a progress: he cou'd think of none more effectual than to deprive the Imperial troops of their General, and provide the confederate forces with one of great reputation.

\* The other members of the Catholick League were the Electors of Mentz, Cologne and Triers; the Archbishop of Saltzbourg, the Bishops of Bamberg, Wirtzburg and Aichstat; the Archdukes of Austria, and several other German Princes, subject to the Emperor; even the Pope and the King of Spain would be admitted into the League; which was farther strengthen'd by two Protestant Princes, the Elector of Saxony, out of jealousy of the Elector Palatine, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, who was at variance with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel.

Richelieu,

Richelieu, by instilling into the Emperor's mind suspicions of Wallstein, got him removed from the command of the army; and at the same time solicited the great Gustavus, King of Sweden, to leave the extremity of the North, and put himself at the head of the EVANGELICAL UNION. This Monarch had all the qualities, which form a true Hero. Persuaded that Heaven had reserved him the glory of being the Protector of the Germanic Liberty and the Reformed Religion, he hasten'd the conclusion of a peace with the Poles; enter'd into a league with France, from whence he drew considerable sums; raised troops in Germany, Holland and the Empire; made a descent on the Isle of Rugen, and drove the Imperialists out of it in the month of June, 1630. This fortunate expedition was follow'd by a torrent of victories: in less than two years he made himself master of the most considerable part of Germany, and of all the countries from the Baltic to the Danube. Ferdinand then recalled Wallstein, who had retired into Moravia, to send him against Gustavus. Wallstein's fortune ballanc'd that of the Swedish Hero, and he at length gave him battle at Lutzen near Leipstick, the fourth of November 1632. The action was bloody: the Swedes got the victory; but they lost their King; and after his death they no longer supported themselves with the same glory. Two years after, their troops, to the number of thirty thousand men, were entirely defeated in the plains of Nordlingen, on the sixth of September 1634. Ferdinand was now a second time on the point of enslaving all Germany: he had quelled the rebels in Bohemia, made that Crown hereditary in his family, calmed the troubles of Austria, reduced Moravia and Silesia to obedience, deprived the Elector Palatine of his dominions, broke the strength of the Protestant League, and lower'd the power of the

An. 1634. Swedes in the Empire. By these successful enterprizes he retain'd all the Princes of the Catholick League in his alliance, except the Elector of Triers: he even drew off the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, and the Duke of Wirtemberg from the Protestant League, who abandoning the interests of Sweden, espoused those of the House of Austria; in short, he obliged all the Princes of the Protestant League to observe a neutrality, except the Duke of Lunebourg and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, who declared for France.

An. 1635. Such was the situation of the Empire, at the time of the rupture between France and Spain. In order to oppose such a number of united Powers, Cardinal Richelieu entered into a close union with two great men, Weymar and Oxenstiern, both persons of uncommon capacities; one for war, the other for politics. Duke Bernard de Weymar, a Prince of the elder branch of the House of Saxony\*, had been the great Gustavus's chief and ablest General. Ever since the defeat at Nordlingen, he had under his command twelve thousand well disciplined veterans, whose officers expected to rise only by their swords. Weymar had got them together from the Protestant Circles of Suabia, Franconia and the Rhine; and had led them to the assistance of the great Gustavus, who paid them as long as he lived. The Swedes being no longer in a condition of maintaining them, Weymar had recourse to France, and the King, by a treaty sign'd at St. Germain en Laye, promised him a considerable sum for their support, during the whole time of the war. After the death of Gustavus, and especially after the battle of Nordlingen, the heads of the Evangelical League, from motives of private interest, were going

\* Charles V had taken the Electorate from the elder branch of the House of Saxony, and conferr'd it on the younger branch, from which the present Elector is descended. This injustice had inspired all the Princes of the elder branch with an implacable hatred to the House of Austria.




to disunite; but \* Baron Axel Oxenstiern, High Chancellor of Sweden, brought them again to reason. He put a stop to the ambition of some, suspended the jealousy of others, and made them all sensible that they cou'd find no security but in their steady union against the House of Austria. An. 1635.

Oxenstiern made a journey into France in the beginning of this year, had an interview with Cardinal Richelieu, and concluded a new treaty with the King at Compiègne. It was then that those two Ministers concerted all that was executed, thirteen years after, in the treaty of Munster; and that Richelieu conceived a violent jealousy of a rival, in whom he with impatience saw talents equal to his own, and virtues perhaps superior. Before these two great Ministers appear'd, the world was unacquainted with what is at present called in Europe, THE BALLANCE OF POWER. Princes waged war without foreseeing that even their victories might sometimes be attended with fatal consequences; not knowing that to make an enemy too weak, was no less dangerous than to make an ally too strong. Richelieu and Oxenstiern were the first who thought of weighing Nations, computing their value, comparing their different interests, combining their mutual relations, calculating their force, and thereby of forming a new species of politics unknown to former ages. Having thus distinctly consider'd the advantages and necessities of each Court in Europe, Richelieu secured some of them, and disposed others to remain neuter. † He agreed with the Protestant States of the Empire, ‡ that the King should not only pay the confederates certain sums of money, but maintain an Army of twelve thousand foot upon the Rhine, to be commanded by a Prince, chosen out of the

\* Fath. Bougeant, Hist. des Negot. de Westph. & Puffendorf.

† Recueil des Traittés de paix.

‡ The Circles of Suabia, Franconia and the Rhine.

An. 1635. confederates, under whom the King should name a  
 **LIEUTENANT GENERAL.** The Protestant States in return obliged themselves to join their forces to that army, in order to take Brisac, and the towns lying on the other side of the Rhine, as far as Constance, and to put under the King's protection Alsace, and all the towns depending on it, where he was to have liberty to place French garrisons.

A new Alliance between France and the United Provinces.

The Cardinal made a new treaty with the Hollanders, by which it was stipulated to attack the Provinces in the Low Countries subject to Spain, with an army of sixty thousand men, one half of which was to be raised by the States, and the other by the King. Lewis XIII promised further to pay fifteen hundred thousand livres every year, toward the expence of the war; and the States General on their part engaged to keep a Fleet constantly in the road, for facilitating expeditions and descents on the coasts of Flanders. From that time the King and the Hollanders divided the Low Countries between them, as a certain conquest. This too hasty division proves that the greatest genius's are capable of committing the greatest blunders. Richelieu let the whole extent of his designs and ambition be perceived by the Hollanders, who were ever after afraid of becoming so near neighbours of France as to have no interval between that Kingdom and their Commonwealth; for which reason they conducted themselves in the war with the utmost precaution, and lent their assistance to the King with reserve and diffidence.

An Alliance between France and the Princes of Italy.

At the same time Richelieu managed the Princes of Italy so artfully, that some of them stood neuter, and the Dukes of Savoy, Parma and Mantua sign'd a treaty with the King. He then engaged the Court of Denmark and the Republic of Poland to make peace with the Swedes; and to hinder the English from declaring in favour of the Spaniards,



he fomented the differences then arising between the An. 1635. unfortunate King Charles and his Parliament; and lastly to complete his work, he remotely paved the way for the revolt of the Catalans and the revolution of Portugal. Nothing gives us a more exalted idea of the genius of this Minister, than to see him thus diving into the hidden councils of the most distant Courts with impenetrable secrecy, and infinite activity, putting some of them into action, quieting others, soothing these with promises, intimidating those with menaces, and forcing them all to be attentive to his motions. Men are easily dazzled with the splendor of such vast projects, when they are unacquainted with the principles of that noble policy, which aims much more at the happiness of a people, than the aggrandizing of a Prince.

While the war was carrying on between the two Crowns, the Duke of Lorraine, though deprived of his dominions, still kept up a small Army of between ten and twelve thousand men, which by turns served the Empire, Spain and France. The money designed for the payment of his soldiers, he retain'd for his private use, and suffered them to live at discretion. He at first declared for Spain.

Thus, on one hand, the Emperor, the Duke of Lorraine, the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the Duke of Wirtemberg, and almost all the Catholic Princes, States and Cities of Germany, entered into a league with Spain against France; on the other, Savoy, Holland, Sweden, the Elector of Triers, the Duke of Lunebourg and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel were united in the interest of France against Spain.

Such was the situation of political affairs in Europe, when Cardinal Richelieu found a specious pretext for coming to an open rupture with Spain. The Elector of Triers had quitted the Catholic League three years before; the success of Gustavus Adolphus's

The dispositions of Charles IV, Duke of Lorraine.

The alliances of different powers, for and against France.

Rupture between the two Crowns.

An. 1635. Adolphus's arms, and the misfortunes of the House of Austria had determined him to make that step. He had treated with France, prevailed with Sweden to observe a neutrality, and admitted French garri-sons into Triers, Harmanstein and Philipsburg. The Spaniards and Austrians bent upon revenge, declared war against him in January 1635. They soon after surprized Triers, carried off the Elector, and led him prisoner first to Brussels, afterwards to Ghent, and at last to Vienna. The King, provoked at this insult offered to an ally of France, sent, according to the antient forms, a herald to Brussels, on the 19th of May, to declare war against Spain.

May 19.

The frontiers nevertheless were none of them at this time in a condition of defence ; the King's coffers were empty ; and there was a great want of artillery and ammunition. In such circumstances, Richelieu's \* enemies looked on his enterprize as an act of the highest imprudence ; but this great Minister so skilfully made use of the allies of France, that he kept her enemies employed, and weakened them on all sides ; which shews that negotiations and alliances may be as serviceable to a State as money and fortified towns.

Four armies  
raised in  
France.

The Cardinal however raised four armies, in order to attack the Spaniards in as many different places. The first and most numerous, consisting of twenty five thousand men, was sent into the Low-Countries, under the command of the Marshals de Châtillon and de Brézé ; the second into the Milanese, under the Marshal de Créqui ; the third into the Valteline, under the Duke of Rohan ; Cardinal de la Valette † led the fourth to the assistance of the Swedes in Germany ; and the Viscount de Turenne was named his Major General.

\* Mem. de Montresor.

† Lewis de Nogaret de la Valette, son of John Lewis de Nogaret, Duke of Epemon, and Margaret de Foix de Candale.

The Swedes, when headed by the great Gustavus, An. 1635. had penetrated into the heart of Germany ; but the Confederates, who, since the fatal action at Nordlingen, were not in a condition of engaging in any considerable enterprize, confined themselves to the defence of the towns, of which they were masters. Galas, the Imperial General, had made Worms his magazine and place of arms ; from thence he sent detachments to ravage the country, and surprise the towns that were garrisoned by the Swedes. The Count de Mansfeld had blocked up Mentz three months before, by that General's direction, who some time after laid siege to Deux-Ponts, in order to cut off all communication between Lorrain, then in the hands of the French, and Alsace, of which they designed to make themselves masters. The King's forces, which appeared in one body in the month of July in the territory of Mets, to the number of between eighteen and nineteen thousand men, entered Germany under the command of \* Cardinal de la Valette, who joined the Duke of Weymar on this side of the Rhine near Binghen. The two Generals took that town, marched to the relief of Mentz, forced the Count de Mansfeld to retire, and furnished the place with provisions. They then advanced toward Deux-Ponts, and Galas raised the siege of that town at their approach. While the Imperialists were possessing themselves of the country about Worms, the two confederate Generals marched to Francfort, to oblige that city, which was disposed to make up matters with the Emperor, to continue faithful to the Protestant Party ; and having posted a strong garrison in Saxen-hausen near Francfort, they returned and encamped under Mentz, and thus remained masters of the country.

General Galas, who was at Worms, not daring to venture a battle, or attack the Confederates in

The French retreat.

\* Mercure François.

their


Mentz furnished with provisions.

August 16,

24,

28.



An. 1635.  their camp, turned his thoughts to cut off their provisions. The country had been ruined by the Imperial and Swedish troops during the long wars in Germany, and the convoys were to be brought from Keyserloutre, Sarbruck, and several other very distant places on the side of Lorrain. The Marquis de Gonzaga seized on all those towns by Galas's orders ; from that time the Confederates received no supplies, and provisions rose to so excessive a price, that the enemies soldiers went and sold them bread at the hazard of their lives. In this distress the Viscount de Turenne gave fresh proofs of his generosity ; he sold his plate and his equipage for the support of part of the troops. The scarcity became so great, that the soldiers were obliged to live on roots and herbs, and their horses had no other food but the leaves of trees and vines. A longer stay in that place would infallibly have starved the armies ; the two Generals therefore being resolved to quit their camp, thought of retiring into the three Bishopricks, where was plenty of provisions ; and, leaving four thousand men at Mentz, they decamped in the night, and repassed the Rhine at Bingen over a bridge of boats. At the same time Galas crossed the river at Worms, and pursued the two armies. The Duke of Weymar, to make his retreat with the utmost expedition, buried his canon privately, and burnt all his useless baggage. The two armies marched night and day without resting, through difficult by-ways, between the mountains. Galas, who followed them with his cavalry, overtook them on the banks of the river Glann, between Odernheim and Messeinheim ; where the French and Swedes facing about, repulsed him with a valour that made him sensible, their retreat was far from being a flight. This unexpected resistance served only to animate him the more ; he put himself at the head of nine thousand horse, marched

Sept. 26.



marched through the Dutchy of Deux-Ponts, pass'd An. 1635: the Sarre, entered Lorrain, and lay in ambuscade for them in a defile between Vaudrevange and Boulay. A warm action ensued, in which the Imperial cavalry was routed by the French squadrons; five hundred Croatians of Galas's army were killed, with a great number of officers; and the two Confederate armies reached a secure place, after a march of thirteen days\*.

† History affords us but few examples of so difficult a retreat. The French, destitute of provisions, and harassed with all those distempers that are occasioned by scarcity, made their way through woods and between mountains, pursued by the Imperialists, who had plenty of every thing. One part of the army observed no order in the march; such as could deceive the vigilance of the officers, threw themselves among the enemy, in hopes of finding wherewith to appease their hunger. Others straggled to the right and left to pillage; and a considerable number, quite spent with fatigue, could but just drag themselves along after the main body of the army. During this painful retreat, the Viscount de Turenne ordered the less necessary parts of his baggage to be thrown out of the waggons, to make room for the poor wretches, who were too weak to march. What provisions he could find he shared with the soldiers; he comforted some, encouraged others, sympathized with the sufferings of all, and relieved them to the best of his power, without any distinction of Frenchmen and strangers. Wherever there was a necessity of making head against the enemy he fought with intrepid valour, possessed himself of the eminences, made himself master of the defiles, seized on the villages and all places, where he could post his infantry, whose fire

The Viscount's conduct during this retreat.

\* Monglat, Pufendorf, *Mercurie François*,

† *Mém. de Monglat*, vol. 1. pag. 98.

An. 1635. frequently stopt the Imperialists ; in short, he shewed an activity, a courage, and above all an humanity, which drew the admiration of the army, and the attention of the Court.

A new treaty between France and the Duke of Weymar. As soon as the Confederate troops were fixed in their winter quarters in Lorraine, Weymar and la Valette went to Paris. The Swedes had entertained a suspicion of Weymar, ever since the defeat of Nordlingen ; they looked on him as the author of their misfortune, because he had given battle against the advice of the Marshal d'Horn. The Duke, on the other hand, was dissatisfied with Sweden, whose Ministers did not treat him with sufficient respect, and he listened therefore to the offers of France. The King allowed him a pension of fifteen hundred thousand livres, and four millions a year for the support of an army of eighteen thousand men, which the Duke obliged himself to furnish and to command under his Majesty's authority.

An. 1636. The bad success of the last campaign had so discouraged Cardinal de la Valette, that he would have renounced the profession of arms, had not Cardinal Richelieu, who was well acquainted with his abilities, engaged him to resume the command of the army. When Richelieu proposed to him the siege of Saverne, he refused to charge himself with that enterprise, unless he had the Viscount de Turenne with him. The Minister consented ; and \* the Viscount touch'd with the confidence reposed in him by Cardinal de la Valette, neglected nothing to convince him that it was not ill placed. La Valette and Weymar, having put their troops on their march, reached Alsace about the beginning of June, and attacked Saverne in two different places. Weymar made a breach on his side, and gave an assault to the town, but met with a vigorous repulse. Two days after, he made a second attempt, and with as

\* Mem. de Monglat, vol. 1. pag. 125.

little success; yet without being discouraged, he An. 1636. made a third, which proved very bloody on both sides. Piqued at so obstinate a resistance he redoubled the fire of the battery, and at the fourth assault the upper town was carried. The lower town and the castle remained still untaken. Turenne observing that the works advanced but slowly on la Valette's side, put himself at the head of the French troops; in a little time he got over the palisade, passed the ditch, mounted the breach, possessed himself of the intrenchments which the enemy had made there, and lodged himself in them. By his liberalities and example he so animated the soldiers, that the lower town and the citadel could not hold out against them beyond the end of June; but the last day of the siege the Viscount was wounded in his right arm by a musket-shot. Though several of the Surgeons were for cutting off his arm, they did not proceed to that extremity; he was a long while under cure; and it was visible by the alarms his illness caused, and by the joy expressed on his recovery, how much he was already loved and esteemed by the troops.

During these expeditions of la Valette and Weymar in Alsace, the Spaniards made great progress on the side of Flanders. Their army, composed of Germans, Hungarians, Poles and Croats, under the conduct of \* John de Vert, pouring into Picardy, renewed the remembrance of the old inundations of the Barbarians. Paris was in all appearance on the point of being sacked; its inhabitants fled into the Provinces, and spread a terror wherever they went. The danger, which appeared extreme, was increased yet more by Galas's irruption into Burgundy. This General proposed nothing less than to march with colours flying quite to

The Spaniards enter France.

\* He was a peasant's son of Westphalia, and rose to the command of the Emperor's forces, by his merit only.

An. 1636. Paris, and flattered himself with the prospect of sharing the plunder of that rich capital with John de Vert's army. The Parisians, terrified at a danger so pressing, taxed themselves; all the tradesmen's apprentices were lifted; every house with great gates was obliged to furnish a man and horse, and the rest one foot soldier each. The King advanced toward Compiegne, at the head of fifty thousand men; the enemy perceiving the French in a condition of defending themselves, and even of acting upon the offensive, quitted Picardy, and Paris was freed from its fears.

Galas driven  
out of Bur-  
gundy.

The army, which had entered Burgundy, was not so happy in its retreat. Galas had invested St. John-de-Lône. This town, though small and ill fortified, proved a fatal rock to the Imperialists; it sustained their attacks with extraordinary vigour, and the efforts of the garrison were not the only difficulties with which the besiegers had to struggle. Prodigious rains laid the whole country under water, and made the Soane overflow. Galas was forced to raise the siege abruptly, and leave his artillery, with part of his baggage behind him. A very great number of soldiers were drowned in the roads broken by the torrents; several were knocked on the head by the peasants, and, to complete the misfortune, the Count de Rantzau † defeated their rear-guard. Of thirty thousand men, which composed the enemy's army, about twelve thousand only escaped, who retired into Franche-Comté. That Province, though subject to Spain, was obliged by a treaty with the King, to observe a neutrality, during the rupture between the two Crowns; but the levies which the inhabitants of Franche-Comte had permitted Philip to make there, served for a pretext to Cardinal Richelieu to break the neutrality with them. After the taking of Saverne,

† Josias de Rantzau, a native of Holstein, afterwards Marshal of France.  
the



the Duke of Weymar and Cardinal de la Valette An. 1636.  
 drew near to Franche-Comté. General Galas de-  
 signed to take up his winter-quarters there, and had  
 advanced, in order to possess himself of the most  
 advantageous posts. La Valette, being apprized  
 of his motions, sent the Viscount de Turenne with  
 a body of troops to meet the enemy. His wound,  
 which was not yet cured, did not hinder him from  
 executing the orders he had received; he marched  
 day and night; and coming to the little town of  
 Jussey, where Galas was beginning to intrench  
 himself, he attacked him, defeated him, forced him  
 to turn back, pursued him as he retired, charged  
 his rear-guard several times, and took a good num-  
 ber of prisoners. Galas, before he repassed the  
 Rhine, attempted to relieve Joinville then besieged  
 by the Duke of Weymar; but the Viscount posted  
 himself so advantageously between the Imperialists  
 and the army of the besiegers, that he broke all the  
 measures taken by Galas to throw succours into that  
 place. It surrendered to the Duke of Weymar; and  
 the Imperialists being forced to retire into Germany  
 by the way of Brisac, passed the Rhine there.

In the beginning of 1637 Ferdinand II died at An. 1637.  
 Vienna, at sixty years of age. Though a little be-  
 fore his death his son Ferdinand III had been cho-  
 sen King of the Romans, and his successor to the  
 Empire, France did not think proper to own him  
 as such, on account of the irregularity of his elec-  
 tion, which instead of being made at Ratisbonne,  
 according to the antient usage, had been made at  
 Francfort; where the Spaniards, while the Diet was  
 sitting, had employed menaces to intimidate the de-  
 puties. The opposition of the French to the election  
 exasperated afresh the Court of Vienna; and the  
 war was renewed.

The good success of the preceding campaign de-  
 termined Richelieu to entrust Cardinal de la Valette,  
 and

The death  
 of the Em-  
 peror Ferdi-  
 nand II, and  
 the election  
 of Ferdinand  
 III.

The Vis-  
 count goes  
 into Flan-  
 ders.

An. 1637. and his brother the Duke of Candale, with the command of the army, that was to enter Flanders by the way of Picardy. \* La Valette again demanded that Turenne might be one of his Major Generals. They began the campaign with investing Landrecies, a town in Hainaut, fortified with five strong bastions and with wet ditches. This siege gave the Viscount infinite fatigue; the weather was bad; the rains, which fell in large quantities, soon filled the trenches; and the soldiers stood up to the waist in water. The Viscount staid there with them, and never left them but to give the Cardinal an account of the progress of the works. The soldiers animated by the example of a Leader whose generosity they at the same time largely experienced, surmounted all the obstacles which art, nature, and the enemy threw in their way, and the town surrendered.

He besieges  
and takes  
the castle of  
Solre.

After the taking of Landrecies, Cardinal de la Valette advanc'd along the banks of the Sambre; and while he was making himself master of Maubeuge, detached a party to ravage the country between Mons and that river; that, if the enemy encamped there, they might find it difficult to subsist. As he saw no Spaniards in the field, he marched back immediately, appeared before Avesnes, and made as if he designed to besiege that town, but suddenly turned off towards la Capelle. In the mean time he sent the Viscount to take Solre, the strongest castle in all Hainaut, and provided with a garrison of two thousand men. The Viscount attacked it so briskly, that in a few hours the enemy surrendered at discretion. † Some soldiers having found a woman of exquisite beauty in the place, conducted her to their Commander, as the most valuable part

\* See Mem. recondit. di Siri, and the Mem. de Monglat, of the year 1637.

† Mem. MSS. de l'Abbé Ragüenet, & Mem. MSS. de Fremont & Ablancourt.

of the booty. The Viscount was then but twenty six ; An. 1637.  
 he was not insensible : however, he pretended not to  
 understand his soldiers meaning, and highly com-  
 mended their discreet conduct, as if their only design  
 in bringing her to him, had been to secure her from  
 the brutality of their comrades. He sent for her  
 husband, and delivering her into his hands, told  
 him, *he owed the preservation of his wife's honour to  
 the discretion of his soldiers.*

Cardinal de la Valette having resolved to make Maubeuge  
 Maubeuge a strong place of arms, which should keep attacked by  
 the whole country in awe, left there his brother the the Cardinal  
 Duke of Candale and the Viscount de Turenne, with Infant.  
 a large body of troops intrenched under the cannon  
 of the town, while he himself went to besiege la Ca-  
 pelle. The Cardinal Infant, who commanded in  
 the Low Countries, being apprised of the division of  
 the French troops, advanced towards Maubeuge,  
 and attacked it, with a view of obliging la Valette  
 to come to the Duke of Candale's assistance, and  
 to raise the siege of la Capelle. The Duke in this  
 exigence, taking with him a party of Horse, went  
 to press his brother to come and join the French  
 troops, which he left under the command of the  
 Viscount de Turenne. The Cardinal Infant hasten-  
 ing to make his advantage of the opportunity, raised  
 a battery of thirty pieces of cannon, which played  
 on the town two whole days. Being informed the  
 next day that la Capelle was taken, and that Cardi-  
 nal de la Valette was on his march to Maubeuge,  
 he made a general assault ; but being repulsed on all  
 sides by the Viscount de Turenne, he raised the siege,  
 and thought only how to post himself so as to hinder  
 the junction of the two French armies : but this En-  
 terprize likewise miscarried, and he was obliged to re-  
 tire. The Viscount, who had Orders to follow him,  
 forced part of the Spanish Army to repass the Sambre,  
 where great numbers were drowned, and many  
 killed ;

An. 1637. killed ; and thus he gloriously finished the Campaign.

Toward the end of this year, Cardinal Richelieu engaged the Duke of Weymar to come to Paris ; where they had several conferences together, the Result of which was, that they should besiege Brisac, which was look'd upon as the Bulwark of Germany.

An. 1638.

The Duke  
of Weymar  
besieges the  
Forest-  
Towns, and  
blocks up  
Brisac,

The Duke thought it advisable to begin with making himself master of the Forest Towns. He took the field in the end of January, in order to be beforehand with the Imperialists ; and surmounting the extreme severity of the season, and the difficulty of the ways, he came within sight of Seckingen and Lauffembourg. Both these places were taken at the first attack, while the Count de Nassau and Colonel Rosen carried Valshut almost without Opposition. These successes encouraged the Duke of Weymar to make an attempt upon Rhinfeld, the fourth and strongest of the Forest Towns. He passed the Rhine, and besieged that place, notwithstanding the inconveniencies occasioned by the snow that fell, and by the waters that filled the trenches. He had already made a lodgment at the foot of the breach, when the Imperialists, commanded by John de Vert, Duke Savelli \*, and two other Generals, came to the relief of Rhinfeld. Weymar gave them battle twice : the first of those Actions was doubtful, and the Imperialists succoured the Town ; but in the second, he gained a complete victory, and the Emperor's four Generals were taken, with several Officers of Distinction. Rhinfeld, and some other towns of Suabia then surrendered to the Conqueror. John de Vert being carried prisoner to Paris by the King's order, made himself esteemed in his misfortunes, by his noble and polite manner of returning the civilities he met with at the Court of France.

\* He was Prince of Albano and a Prince of the H. Empire.



This victory † put the Duke of Weymar in a condition to block up Brisac. In order to streighten that town, it was necessary to be master of all the places about it. Fribourg, one of the first that was besieged, did not surrender till after several engagements in which the Duke was always victorious; he at length began the siege of Brisac in the month of April.

Cardinal Richelieu sent him two reinforcements, under the conduct of the Viscount de Turenne and the Count de Guébriant \*, as LIEUTENANT GENERALS; a rank till that time not known in France. On the other hand, the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Bavaria neglected nothing to succour that place, the preservation of which was of very great Importance to them. General Goëtz with Duke Savelli, who had escaped out of prison, assembled an army on the banks of the Danube, drew toward Brisac, made several marches round the town, and twice found means to throw in provisions. In order to hinder the like succours for the future, the Duke of Weymar resolved to attack the enemy's army: he went out of his lines with two thirds of his troops, which were in all but sixteen thousand men; General Goëtz had twenty thousand. Weymar, after a march of less than two hours, through woody and very narrow ways, found the enemy in the plain of Wittenweir; where he drew up his army in line of battle: After some discharges of the artillery on both sides, the two armies engaged with great fury. The right wing of the Imperialists was pushed into a hollow way that was behind it, and routed, without being able to rally. Duke Savelli, who had commanded it, was taken, with seven pieces of cannon. Weymar's right wing being on a very dis-

The Viscount serves under the Duke of Weymar, at the Siege of Brisac.

† Hist. du Maréchal de Guébriant, pag. 76. and 80. and Mem. de Montglat, Vol. 1. pag. 223.

\* John Baptiste Budes, Count de Guébriant, afterwards Marshal of France.

An. 1638. advantageous ground, was put into disorder :  
 Goëutz, who had posted himself on an eminence, was going to attack it in flank, and the Viscount de Turenne, who commanded it, was in danger of being surrounded, if the Duke of Weymar had not come to his assistance, and warmly charged Goëutz, who nevertheless kept his ground on the eminence. As it would have been difficult to dislodge him from it by force, recourse was had to stratagem \*. The Count de Guébriant advised the sending some troopers into the neighbouring forest, with drums and trumpets. At the noise made by those instruments, the Imperialists thinking they were going to be attacked in their rear, quitted their eminence. Weymar's troops seized it, and at the same time took the cannon on the left wing of the Imperialists. In the heat and confusion of the action, the Imperialists likewise took that of the Confederates on the right wing ; so that both sides employed the enemy's artillery in cannonading one another. After a conflict that lasted seven hours, and in which all the troops charged several times, the Imperialists were put to flight, and yielded the Duke of Weymar a complete victory ; the glory of which was shared by the Count de Guébriant and the Viscount de Turenne. Goëutz made his escape, having lost in this battle all his cannon, his ammunition, three thousand waggons, five thousand sacks of corn, and all his baggage. Two thousand Imperialists were kill'd on the spot ; fifteen hundred were made prisoners, and forty five standards were taken, with all the colours †.

The Duke  
 of Lorraine  
 marches to  
 the Relief of  
 Brisac.

The Emperor ordered his Generals to make a second attempt, at the hazard of a second defeat ; not valuing the loss of an army, provided he could save a town, which in the hands of the French would

\* Hist. du Maréchal de Guébriant, pag. 80.

† See the MS. Memoirs of Fremont d'Ablancourt.

become

become the key of Germany, a barrier against the enterprizes of the Imperialists on France, and an obstacle to Ferdinand's sending of succours to the Spaniards in the Low Countries. The Duke of Weymar, however, being persuaded that the enemy were no longer in a condition to oppose his enterprize, returned to his entrenchments before Brisac, and continued the siege. But scarce had he finished his lines, when the Duke of Lorraine with a body of Troops marched against him about the middle of October. Weymar quitted his lines a second time, and leaving a part of his army there under the conduct of the Viscount de Turenne and the Count de Guébriant, went to meet the enemy, whom he found near Tannes. The Duke of Lorraine began the attack at ten in the morning ; and, after an obstinate Fight, in the heat of which the Generals encountered one another, the enemy's squadrons were broke : the Duke of Weymar taking advantage of their disorder, entirely routed them, and obtained as complete a victory over the Lorrainers as he had done over the Germans.

An. 1638.



Octob. 15.

General Goëtz, and Lamboy\* the Spanish General, who had succeeded Savelli, being apprised of the defeat of the Lorrainers, got some troops together, came to the very banks of the Rhine through by-ways, and reached the Duke of Weymar's Quarters, before their march was perceived. They took a view of his lines, attacked them vigorously, and carried two redoubts. All was giving way before them, when the Viscount de Turenne and the Count de Guébriant came up : they drove them out of the lines ; and the Imperialists, who returned to the charge several times, being as often repulsed with loss, passed the Rhine and laid siege to Ensisheim. From this place, the ancient capital of the upper Alsace, on the river Ill, in the neighbour-

The Generals Goëtz and Lamboy come to the relief of Brisac.

\* The Baron de Lamboy, General of the Spaniards.

hood

An. 1638. hood of Brisac, they might have incommoded Weymar's army : But the Viscount did not allow them time to make themselves masters of that town: he attacked them with part of the French troops, beat them in their very camp, obliged them to raise the siege, and dispersed them in such a manner, that they had no farther thoughts of relieving Brisac.

Battles during the siege of Brisac.

During the siege of that town, which lasted near eight months, there were six engagements, of which those of Witteinweir, Tannes, and Ensisheim might properly be called battles. The besieged suffered all the calamities attending a long siege, before Reynac, who commanded in the place, would surrender. Provisions became so excessively scarce, that he was obliged to post some of his soldiers in the churchyards, to prevent digging up the bodies of the dead \*. Of all the outworks, the besieged had only one fort left, called Reynac's Ravelin; but as by this they continued masters of the chief branch of the Rhine, they had hopes of receiving succours on that side, which hindered them from proposing or listening to any terms. The Duke of Weymar having observed, that the Viscount had been successful in all his undertakings during the siege, ordered him to attack that fort. Turenne advanced to it at the head of four hundred men, who cut down the palisades with hatchets, entered it in three places at once, and put all who defended it to the sword.

Brisac taken.  
Decem. 17.

The Governor of the town, after the loss of that fort, despairing of relief at length capitulated. He surrendered on the seventeenth of December. During the whole time of the siege, the Viscount de Turenne had a quartan ague; yet he continued to show by his actions that he was insensible to every thing but glory.

An. 1639. Richelieu † and the Duke of Weymar, not long

\* Lotichius, and Puffendorf.

† See *Siri Mem. recondit.* Vol. 8. pag. 763. and Puffendorf, *de rebus Suecicis* Lib. XI.

after,



after, conceived a mutual jealousy of each other. An. 1639.  
 The Duke had joined in the war against the Imperialists, much more with a view to his own interests than those of France, and weary of depending upon a Minister, to whom he did not think he was obliged, as being a foreign Prince, to pay much deference, he was contriving how to keep Brisac to himself, in order to form a Principality of the conquests he might make in the neighbourhood of that town. The Cardinal, who wanted to have him put Brisac into the hands of the French, invited him to Paris, under pretence of concerting measures for the ensuing campaign. The Duke resolutely refused to go, and only sent General d'Erlach thither, whom he had made Governor of Brisac. This conduct increased the Cardinal's suspicions and distrusts; but he was soon freed from his uneasiness. The Duke of Weymar, going into Sundgaw the southern part of Alsace, about the beginning of July, fell sick at Newbourg, and died after an illness of fifteen days, at the age of thirty six. This Prince, the youngest of eleven brothers, was the most eminent of them for abilities, courage, and nobleness of sentiments: it was by his prudence, patience, generosity, learning and magnanimity that he merited the elogium bestowed on him by the great Gustavus, when he called him his  
 RIGHT ARM.

On the death of Weymar, the Emperor, the King of France, the Dukes of Bavaria, Lawem-  
 bourg and Lunebourg, the Duke of Saxony Brother to Weymar, and Charles Lewis Prince Palatine, us'd each of them all his endeavours to gain the deceased General's troops, who seemed to have most inclination for the last named of the competitors. As soon as that Prince, who was then at the Hague, received the news of the Duke's death, he went over into England, to raise money, and when he had got together twenty five thousand Pounds sterling \*, left  
 that

*The death  
and Character  
of Weymar.*

*The Marshal de Guébriant commands the forces of Weymar.*

\* About 100,000 Crowns French money in those days.

An. 1639. that country, in order to go to the army in Alsace. As France was the shortest way, he proposed to travel through that kingdom *incognito*; but Cardinal Richelieu, who had notice both of his journey and of his designs, caused him to be stopt at Moulins, and conducted to the castle of Vincennes, where he was kept close prisoner till the Weymarian troops had delivered up all the places conquered in Alsace to the King, and put themselves under the command of the Count de Guébriant, who was named their General. Guébriant \* joined the famous Swedish General Banner, who soon filled all Germany with the glory of his name, and by his exploits almost equalled his master the great Gustavus.

Richelieu offers one of his relations in marriage to the Viscount.

The Viscount de Turenne went to Court, where the Cardinal loaded him with commendations, desired his friendship, and to engage him more strongly to his interest, offered him one of his nearest relations in marriage; but the Viscount, apprehensive that difference of religion might prove an obstacle to that intimate union which such engagements require, made no scruple ingeniously to tell him his mind. The Minister approved the reasons of his refusal, admired the truth and probity which reigned in all his proceedings, and far from being offended with him, gave him fresh proofs of his esteem, by continuing to employ him in the most difficult affairs. It was then that he resolved to send him into Italy, where the war was renewed on account of the Duchess of Savoy, sister to Lewis XIII.

The Rise of the Wars in Savoy.

Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, died the seventh of October 1637. From the beginning of the rupture between the two Crowns, he had declared for France, and had continued steady in that Interest to his death. The Spaniards fearing that Christina his widow would put herself entirely under the conduct of the King her brother, stirred up Prince Tho-

\* Puffendorf, *de rebus Suecicis* lib. XI. *Grotii Epist.*

mas and the Cardinal of Savoy, both attached to his An. 1639. Catholick Majesty's interest, to go into Piedmont, and wrest out of the hands of their sister in law, both the regency, and the guardianship of the young Duke her son. Those Princes going into Lombardy, persuaded the people that the Dukes had a design of giving them up to the French, and raised a civil war in her dominions. The Dukes would not for some time have recourse to her brother, for fear of increasing the jealousies of her subjects; but she was at last constrained to it.

\* The Marshal de Créquy had been sent into Italy, to make war in that country; but after he had served there three years, he was killed by a cannon ball at Bremen on the Po. The Cardinal de la Valette had by order supplied his place in the beginning of 1638. But he was not so successful in Italy as he had been in Flanders: he in a few months lost Yvrée, Vercell, Veruë, Nice, and some other considerable towns, of which the Princes of Savoy, assisted by the Spaniards, made themselves masters. The Piedmontese, seeing the progress of Prince Thomas's arms, and chusing rather to be subject to him than to strangers, gave him up Quiers, Montcalier, the city of Turin, and several other important places. Cardinal Richelieu made the Dukes dowager of Savoy sensible that she could not be secure of any of her towns, without providing them with French garisons and governors of the same nation. The Dukes consented, and this complaisance augmented the jealousies of the Piedmontese and the Spaniards. At the solicitation of these latter, the Emperor published an Ordinance, by which he declared the Dukes deprived of the guardianship of her children, disengaged her subjects from their oath of allegiance, and enjoined them to acknowledge the two Princes of Savoy, the young Duke's uncles, as his

Cardinal de  
la Valette  
commands  
in Piedmont.

\* Mem. de Monglat, tom. 1. pag. 248.

An. 1639. guardians. All Piedmont rose against the Dukes, and submitted to her brothers in law, excepting Suza, Carignan, Chivas and the citadel of Turin. To prevent the total ruin of that Princess, Richelieu, who was acquainted with Turenne's capacity, sent him into Lombardy. Though the Viscount did not command in chief, his presence soon changed the face of affairs; and the Dukes of Savoy received great assistance from his valour and counsels. Cardinal de la Valette dying in the month of October, it was expected that the Viscount de Turenne would be appointed General in his room; but the circumstances of affairs were not favourable to him. The Duke of Bouillon, for reasons which shall be soon explained, had lately received at Sedan Louis de Bourbon Count of Soissons and Clermont, who was Richelieu's professed enemy. This Minister was so little acquainted with the Viscount's character, as to fear he might be seduced by the Duke his brother, and therefore would not trust him with the command in chief, but gave that employment to the Count d'Harcourt\*, who had married a relation of his Eminence's. As the Count's merit was equal to his birth, and he had already distinguished himself by several glorious actions, the Viscount willingly served under him: despite and jealousy are passions unknown to elevated souls.

A victory  
obtained by  
the Viscount  
at la Route  
de Quiers.

On the Count d'Harcourt's arrival, a Council was held to consider, what enterprizes they were in a condition to goupon. Though the enemy had twice the number of troops, it was resolved to march in search of them; and the Count advanc'd to Villeneuve d'Ast, where they were encamped. Surprized at the bold approach of an army so much inferior to their own, they, instead of coming out of their lines, only intrenched themselves more strongly. In

\* Henry de Lorraine, Count d'Harcourt, d'Armagnac and de Brionne, Master of the Horse to the King of France.



vain did the Count, in order to draw them to a battle, besiege Quiers, a place situated two leagues from Turin, on this side Ville-neuve: Turenne posted himself, with all the cavalry, between their quarters and the Count's; and the Spaniards let the town be taken without attempting to save it: But, as it was but poorly furnish'd with provisions, the Count d'Harcourt could make no long stay there. The enemy having foreseen that he would be obliged to go to Carignan for subsistence, the Marquis de Leganes\*, who commanded them, possessed himself of the eminence of Poirin, at the foot of which the French were to pass; while Prince Thomas marched toward the little river of Santena, which they were likewise obliged to cross. As the Marquis de Leganes came from Ast, and Prince Thomas from Turin, the French army could not get to Carignan, without exposing both their flanks to the enemy. This being the case, the Viscount offered to go with two thousand men, and seize the bridge of Santena, near a village named la Route. He set out at the head of the detachment he had demanded, and was so expeditious, that he had made himself master of the bridge, and all the neighbouring posts, before Prince Thomas arrived there. This Prince, with 3000 foot and 1500 horse, fell on the Viscount, who having sustain'd the enemy's first attack, without giving way, charg'd them in his turn, broke them, and drove them before him the space of a mile. Prince Thomas was twice thrown into a ditch, and had been infallibly taken, if the darkness of the night had not favour'd his escape. While the Viscount was engaged with Prince Thomas, the Marquis de Leganes attack'd the Count d'Harcourt, who tho' he had the advantage over the Spaniards, durst not advance towards the river, being uncertain whe-

Nov. 20.

\* Don Diego Philip d'Avila de Gusman, Grandee of Spain, and Governor of the Milanese.

An. 1639. ther Prince Thomas was not in possession of the passes; but on receiving advice from the Viscount, that the enemy had been prevented and defeated, he continued his march; and the army being re-joined by the detachment, the Viscount put himself in the rear-guard, and made the troops file off before him, with the cannon and baggage. He was the last man that passed the bridge, which with his own hands he helped to break down. The Count d'Harcourt proceeded to Carignan without opposition, where he quartered part of his army, and the rest in the adjacent places. Such was the battle of *la Route de Quiers*, the success of which was attributed to the Viscount de Turenne; who, nevertheless in a particular account he gave of that action in a letter he sent to Paris, spoke so little of himself, that one of his friends wrote to him, "That Fame was mistaken, since she every where published that he had had the principal part in the victory."

The Viscount takes some places, and furnishes the citadel of Turin with provisions.

The campaign being ended, the Count d'Harcourt went to pass the winter at Pignerol, leaving the command to the Viscount de Turenne, whom he ordered to furnish the citadel of Turin with provisions. It was defended by the Count de Couvonge \*, against Prince Thomas, who was master of the town. The Viscount, perceiving that the troops were too much crowded in their quarters in the country of Saluces, and that the cavalry wanted forage, besieged the towns of Busca and Dronero, on the river Maira: he took them in six days, and the army by extending itself had sufficient subsistence. He then sent the necessary ammunition and provisions into the citadel of Turin, in spite of all Prince Thomas could do to hinder it.

An. 1640. Casal succoured.

In the beginning of the next spring, the Count d'Harcourt receiv'd advice that the Marquis de Leganes, to retrieve the misfortunes of the last campaign,

\* Anthony de Stainville, a Nobleman of Lorrain.

had

had besieged Casal, which France defended for her ally, the young Duke of Mantua. Though the Spanish General, with an army of 20,000 Men, had entrenched himself in the neighbourhood of that town, near a hill, on the other side of the little river of Gattola, the Count d'Harcourt attempted the relief of the place. Having left his cannon under a strong guard, he marched toward Casal in the end of April, with 7000 foot and 3000 horse: He arrived near the entrenchments, took a view of them, found them wide, deep, and strengthened by forts and redoubts. Designing to attack them in three places, he divided his army into three bodies. The Viscount de Turenne\* and the Count du Pleffis-Praslin, were to make an attack from the declivity of the hill, at the head of the first body composed of old troops; the second formed of new, under the command of la Mothe-Houdancourt, had orders to gain the top of the same eminence; and the troops of Savoy, which made the third, commanded by the Marquisses de Villes and de Pianezze, were designed for the attack on the side of the plain. La Mothe-Houdancourt passed the Gattola, with two regiments of infantry, and six of cavalry, and made himself master of the top of the hill: the Viscount de Turenne, and the Count du Pleffis-Praslin, who followed Houdancourt with 700 musketeers, forced the enemy, who advanced against them, back into their entrenchments, and gave the rest of the troops time to pass, and draw up in order of battle. The attack began: the soldiers threw themselves into the ditch: the Count d'Harcourt, who saw them suffer much from the enemies pikes, spurr'd on his horse; and, crying out *we must conquer or die*, passed the entrenchments. Roque Serviere, who commanded de la Mothe-Houdancourt's infantry, had entered them at a place where he met with less difficulty,

\* Mem. de Monglat, tom. I. pag. 351.


An. 1640. and had been followed by the cavalry : the Count d'Harcourt put himself at their head, and charged all that stood in his way. Soon after, the Viscount de Turenne and the Count du Pleffis, who had been repulsed three times, at the fourth attack forced the entrenchments. The Marquisses de Villes and de Pianezze entred them at the same time on another side, which was abandoned by the enemy, and put into disorder a large body of the Spanish horse, which was on the point of surrounding the Count d'Harcourt. \* The victory however was not entirely sure : a body of 4000 horse was preparing to return to the charge : the Viscount perceiving their motion, immediately drew up all the cavalry of the army together, so close in one single front, that the enemy could not discern whether they were supported or not. Deceived by this disposition, their courage failed them, and they fled to the right and left, some toward the bridge of Sture, others toward Fraxinet, where they had likewise a bridge over the Po. The Viscount pursued them till night, took twelve pieces of cannon, six mortars, twenty four colours, all their ammunition, and the greatest part of their baggage ; 3000 men were killed in the field of battle, 1800 were made prisoners, great numbers were drowned in the Po, and the rest owed their safety to the night only. Never was victory more complete, or more unexpected by the vanquished : the Marquis de Leganes did not imagine that the Count d'Harcourt would with a handful of men have dared to attack an army so considerable, and so well intrenched as his.

Turin besieged.

Casal was thus relieved : and the Count d'Harcourt, willing to make the best advantage of the ardour of the French troops encouraged by this success, called a council of war, in order to resolve on

\* Mem. MSS. of Fremont d'Ablancourt, and the MSS. of Abbè Raguénot, already quoted.



some new enterprize. The Viscount was of opinion An. 1640.  
 that they should besiege Turin ; but this motion was   
 opposed by the other General Officers : they main-  
 tained it would be rashness to besiege, with 10,000  
 men, a town provided with a garrison of 12,000,  
 and which might be relieved by Leganes, who had  
 still an army of 15,000 well disciplined soldiers.  
 The Viscount, who did not use to speak till he had  
 well weighed what he intended to say, persisted stea-  
 dily in his opinion, representing, that the King's  
 affairs would be absolutely ruined in Piedmont, not-  
 withstanding all the advantages already gained, if  
 Prince Thomas made himself master of the citadel of  
 Turin, which could not be prevented but by lay-  
 ing siege to the town. The Count d'Harcourt  
 yielded to his reasons : the siege was resolved upon,  
 and the army marched immediately. When they May 10.  
 came near Turin, they seized the bridge on the Po,  
 the convent of Capucins situated on a rising ground on  
 the right of that river, Valentin, a house of pleasure  
 of the Dukes of Savoy, lying on the left of the same  
 river, and all the other advantageous posts in that  
 neighbourhood. Lines of circumvallation and con-  
 travallation were drawn, and the place was closely  
 streightned, in hopes of starving it in a little time.

General Leganes looking on this enterprize of the  
 Count d'Harcourt as a favourable opportunity of re-  
 venging the affront received before Casal, wrote to  
 Prince Thomas, who had shut himself up in Turin,  
 that he was marching to his assistance ; that the Count  
 d'Harcourt should not escape him this time ; and  
 that the ladies of Turin might before-hand hire win-  
 dows in the great street to see him go by prisoner.  
 He augmented his army with the garrisons of most  
 of the towns in the Milanese, and came with 18,000  
 men to view the grounds about the Capucin's con-  
 vent, with a design of passing the Po over the bridge  
 of Turin ; but he found that bridge so well guarded,

An. 1640. that not daring to attack it, he retired behind the mountains of Savito and Cano-retto, which are on the banks of the Po. The Count d'Harcourt suspecting that he designed to pass that river at Moncalier above Turin, sent the Viscount de Turenne thither with a detachment to oppose his passage. But notwithstanding all the expedition the Viscount could make, when he came to Moncalier, he found that four or five thousand of the enemy had already crossed, and were beginning to entrench themselves in the Cassines on this side of the river. He marched up to them, without losing a moment: his soldiers making a difficulty of passing a brook, which being swelled by the rains then overflowed, he passed it first himself: he attacked the Cassines which the enemy had already bored, to fire through the openings, drove them thence, slew great numbers of them, and forced the rest into the Po, where they were drowned: he then burnt the bridge, which was built only of wood, and intrenched himself on the banks of the river over against the enemy. This action had such an effect on the Marquis de Leganes, that he retreated toward Revigliasco, under pretence of going to get recruits, and left his army under the conduct of Carlo della Gatta, the best and bravest of his officers. The Viscount, knowing the capacity and vigilance of his enemy, ordered all the fords above Moncalier to be guarded day and night. Carlo della Gatta durst neither pass them in his presence, nor throw bridges over any part of the river: all his enterprizes were confined to the seizing of some small islands which lay nearest the banks of the Po. Turenne found means to land in them, before the enemy had finished their intrenchments, and all whom he found there, were either cut in pieces, or drowned in the river, but he himself received a musket shot in his shoulder, and was obliged to be carried to Pignerol.

Leganes soon returned to Moncalier, passed the Po in spite of the resistance made by the French, and went and shut up the Count d'Harcourt in his camp. Perhaps there never was an instance of besiegers and besieged in the like situation. Prince Thomas kept the Count de Couvonges block'd up in the citadel, and was besieged in the town by the Count d'Harcourt, who was himself shut up in his lines by the Marquis de Leganes. Leganes having agreed to attempt the French lines, while Prince Thomas should make a sally, the Count d'Harcourt was attacked on the second of July, both from the town and the plain. Prince Thomas seized on Valentin; and Carlo della Gatta having forced and filled up the lines in the quarter of de la Mothe-Houdancourt, entered Turin with 1200 horse and 1000 foot. The Marquis de Leganes making himself afterwards master of the river Ora, as he had done before of the Po, hindered the passage of provisions to the Count d'Harcourt's camp, both from Suza and Pignerol; and the famine grew so pressing, that not one of the general officers was for remaining any longer before Turin.

The Viscount de Turenne, hardly recovered of his wound, arrived when they were in this condition; he brought from Pignerol to the army a large convoy of provisions and ammunition, escorted by some troops got together from Guyenne, Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiny and Franche-Comté, and which the Cardinal had ordered to pass the mountains. Leganes \* opposed their passage in vain: he had sent a detachment which harraressed them on the road, and laid several ambuscades for them; the Viscount surmounted all obstacles, and conducted the convoy safe to the camp on the twelfth of July.

Prince Thomas in Turin was reduced to a greater want of provisions than the French. It is pretended

\* Mem. de Monglat, pag. 357. an. 1640.

An. 1640.  
Leganes be-  
sieves the  
Count  
d'Harcourt  
in his camp  
before Tu-  
rin.

July 2.

The Vis-  
count de Tu-  
renne brings  
a convoy to  
the Count  
d'Harcourt.

July 12.1

Turin taken.

An. 1640. that the town was supplied for some time by Francesco Zignoni Bergamasco, an Engineer \*, who filled several large bombs with meal, and threw them into the town over the Count d'Harcourt's camp : but the French having the benefit of such as fell by the way, this expedient was laid aside, which became almost as advantageous to the besiegers as to the besieged. Carlo della Gatta's enterprise was attended with no better success : falling out at the head of 3000 men, of whom he would have disburthened the town, by conducting them into Leganes's camp, he could not force his way, and was obliged to return. The besieged made several other sallies, which cost them great numbers of men, while the Marquis de Leganes was to no purpose endeavouring to force the French lines. Prince Thomas, finding himself reduced to the last extremity, demanded a capitulation, and surrendered on the seventeenth of Sept. 17. September ; he went out with 8000 men, and was conducted to Yvrée. The Marquis de Leganes re-passed the Po with his troops. The Count d'Harcourt full of glory from the success of a campaign, which he had opened by the relieving of Casal, and closed with the taking of Turin, returned to France by orders from the Court, and left the army under the command of the Viscount de Turenne.

An. 1641. The troops having suffered extremely at the siege of Turin, the Viscount allowed them time to refresh themselves ; but made them march as soon as they were fit for action. Toward the end of February he besieged Montecalvo, of which he made himself master in ten days. He then passed the Po, and laid siege to Yvrée, where Prince Thomas kept his magazines. Foreseeing that the Prince would be expeditious in throwing succours into this place, he did not alight from his horse till he had finished his lines and secured his quarters. Prince Thomas did

\* See l'histoire de la Repub. de Venise, by Nani, tom. IV. lib. XI.



not fail to hasten towards Yvrée, believing that the Viscount would not have time enough to provide for the security of his camp: finding him too well intrenched, to venture to attack him, he hoped to make a diversion by laying siege to Chivas: but the Viscount did not quit the siege he had begun: he only pressed it more vigorously, that he might go the sooner to the relief of Chivas.

In the mean time, on the news that the Viscount had taken Montecalvo in so few days, and was besieging Yvrée, the Count d'Harcourt's emulation was roused amidst the pleasures and encomiums of the Court: he set out for Piedmont, and hastened to the camp before Yvrée. While he was continuing the siege of that place with the greatest vigour, the murmurs of the people of Chivas forced him to the succour of that town, which lies but four leagues from Turin. Prince Thomas, whose only view was to save Yvrée, raised the siege of Chivas before the Count d'Harcourt arrived there, and retired to the other side of the Po. The Count might have returned and renewed the siege of Yvrée; but abandoning all the Viscount's schemes, he passed the Po, and went to take Ceva, Mendovi and Coni. Turenne, who had the Interests of his country more at heart, than those of his own self-love, laboured for his General's glory with the same zeal as before, at the sieges of those three places. Cardinal Richelieu, who knew all the merit of those two Princes, from that time judged, that in order to render them more useful to the State, he ought to separate them.

While the Viscount was signalizing himself in the service of France, the Duke of Bouillon, his brother, was unhappily engaged in the Spanish interest by his union with the Count de Soissons. The Count had retired to Sedan four years before, to screen himself from the ill-will of the Cardinal. As Richelieu had form'd the ambitious project of an

An. 1641.

Richelieu resolves to separate the Count d'Harcourt and the Viscount de Turenne.

The Count de Soissons retires from Court.

An. 1641. alliance of his own family with that of his Sovereign, he sent a person to the Count, to propose a match between him and the Countess de Combalet his niece. The proposal put that Prince into such a passion, as to make him express by his behaviour, the extremity of his hatred to the Minister. The Cardinal on the other hand was incensed at so insulting a refusal, and to revenge himself, put in practise his ordinary maxim, of humbling all who opposed his will. The Count de Soissons, who was naturally high-spirited, and had a courage becoming his birth, kept no measures in his contempt, courted the friendship of all the great men of the kingdom who hated Richelieu, and entered into a close union with the Duke of Orleans, in order to counter-balance the Minister's excessive authority. Richelieu, in the mean time, labour'd incessantly for the Count's destruction, and at length found means to ruin him in the King's favour; the Count, being forced to leave the Court, retired to Sedan. As soon as he arrived there, the Duke of Bouillon gave the Cardinal notice of it, and begged the King, *not to be displeased with his affording a retreat to a Prince of his blood, who was persuaded he had done nothing which could offend his Majesty* \*. The King and the Cardinal approved of the Duke's conduct, and gave the Count leave to stay at Sedan.

A close union between the Count de Soissons and the Duke of Bouillon. During his residence at that place, he entered into a close union with the Duke of Bouillon. The former was very capable of inspiring all the sentiments of a warm friendship; and the latter very susceptible of a tender and constant affection. The Count did not pass for a man of great talents; but was endow'd with almost all the virtues: he was intrepid, liberal, disinterested, faithful, sincere, in one word, a man of honour and probity. The

\* See Langlade's Memoirs, p. 40. and the Mem. of Monglat, Tom. I. p. 389.

Duke was in possession of the same virtues, with a superiour genius. When there is a conformity of sentiments between two hearts, a superiority of talents on one side, far from proving an obstacle to friendship, ties the knot still faster: with pleasure a man lets himself be advised by the person he loves; and this deference does not fail to sooth the self-love of him who advises. While they lived in this manner, the Duke in one of those moments when the transports of friendship make a man lose sight of his duty, swore he would be inseparably attach'd to the Count's interest, and that the City of Sedan should always be his asylum against the injustice of the Cardinal.

Some time after, the Minister renewed his negotiation for effecting the marriage of the Countess de Combalet with the Count de Soissons; and being exasperated by a fresh refusal, he insisted on the Duke of Bouillon's obliging the Count to leave Sedan: the Duke replied, that the King having at first approved of his receiving that Prince, he had then given him his word never to force him thence: that after such an engagement, he was obliged in honour not to violate the laws of hospitality in regard to a Prince of the Blood, who was guilty of no breach of duty to his Sovereign. The Minister, shock'd at the Duke's resolution, soon made him feel the effects of his repentment.

The Duke of Bouillon refuses to make the Count de Soissons leave Sedan, and receives the Duke of Guise in that town.

Henry IV. and Lewis XIII. had by several agreements with the Duke of Bouillon, engaged to maintain the garrison of Sedan, and pay the troops belonging to it: the Cardinal prevailed with the King to discontinue that payment, in order to force the Duke of Bouillon to sell that sovereignty to his Majesty. From that moment, the Duke openly declared against the Minister, and would listen to no proposal. The Cardinal, who had not yet shewn to what a degree his anger was raised, being apprised

An. 1641. apprised that the Archbishop of Rheims\*, afterwards known by the name of DUKE DE GUISE, had also retired to Sedan, could contain himself no longer, and said publickly before the King, “ that  
 “ that place was become the refuge of all the fac-  
 “ tious, and a second Rochelle, which ought to  
 “ be levelled with the ground.

The three  
 princes in  
 their retreat  
 at Sedan,  
 make a treat-  
 ty with  
 Spain and  
 the Empire.

These civil broils in France revived the courage of the Spaniards, who applied themselves with ardor to gain the Duke of Bouillon, and the Princes that were with him at Sedan. Cardinal Richelieu on his side, employed all the means which might force them to join with Spain, that he might deprive the Count de Soissons of his places and employments, the Archbishop of Rheims of his benefices, and the Duke of Bouillon of his dominions. So far was he from helping them out of the labyrinth, in which he had engaged them, that by his secret intrigues, the hard terms he required of them, and the preparations he made for besieging Sedan, he reduced them to sign a treaty with the Cardinal Infant †, who acted in the name of the King of Spain, and with the Arch-Duke ‡, who acted in the name of the Emperor. Each of them promised 7000 men; and those two bodies united were to repair to the neighbourhood of Sedan. The Spaniards likewise obliged themselves to send 200,000 crowns for raising soldiers: but they paid only part of the money, and entirely failed in that article of the treaty which related to the troops. The Emperor was more faithful to

\* Second son to Charles of Lorraine, Duke de Guise. He had been engaged in the Queen Mother's party, and banished on her account. He had only the title and revenue of a Bishop, without being in orders. Returning into France, he had a mind to marry the Princess Ann de Gonzaga, and desired the King's permission for resigning to his brothers his benefices, which amounted to 400,000 livres a year: The Cardinal refused his request; incensed at the refusal, he retired to Sedan.

† Ferdinand of Austria, called the CARDINAL INFANT, son to Philip III. King of Spain.

‡ Leopold William, son to the Emperor Ferdinand II.



his engagements, and sent General Lamboy, with the 7000 men that he was to furnish.

An. 1641.

Soon after the signing of this treaty, the Count de Soissons, the Duke of Guise, and the Duke of Bouillon, to justify their conduct, dispersed a † manifesto through all France, in which they stiled themselves PRINCES OF PEACE. They there drew the Cardinal in the most odious colours, reviving the remembrance of his ingratitude to the Queen Mother his benefactress, and his cruelty to the rivals of his power ; and exaggerating his complaisance for his creatures, the violence of his administration, and all the faults in his character. The

They publish a manifesto in justification of their conduct.

Cardinal gave the Marshal de Chatillon orders to advance toward Sedan with his troops, consisting of 10,000 men ; while the Marshal de la Meilleraye, at the head of a powerful army, had orders to march into the very heart of Flanders, with a view of drawing all the forces of the Low Countries thither, and hindring the Cardinal Infant from sending succours to Sedan. While the Marshal de Chatillon lay encamped a league from Sedan, near the village of Marphée, General Lamboy joined the Imperial army to that of the *Princes of Peace*, in the beginning of June. After this conjunction, he marched directly against the French, with the Count de Soissons, who commanded a body of reserve, and the Duke of Bouillon, who headed the cavalry. The Duke of Guise, who was gone to Brussels to negotiate the treaty, was not yet returned. The Marshal de Chatillon, as soon as he saw the enemy, drew up his army in line of battle, and attack'd them briskly. In this first onset, the royal army had the advantage : but afterwards the cavalry of the Princes \* charged the squadrons of the King with so much vigour, that they broke them

The battle of Marphée, and death of the Count de Soissons.

† See the manifesto in V. Siri.

\* Langlade's Memoirs, pag. 70.

An. 1641. intirely, forced them on the foot, and in a very little time routed the royal army. The Marshal de Chatillon lost all his infantry, and most of his principal officers were killed or made prisoners. The Duke of Bouillon finding himself near the place where he had left the Count de Soissons with his body of reserve, thought to give him notice of the defeat of his enemies, but found him dead in the midst of his guards without having fought, nor was it ever known by whom or in what manner he was killed : it is probable he had unfortunately killed himself in attempting to raise the visor of his helmet with the end of his pistol. The Duke of Bouillon sent the news of that Prince's death to the Cardinal Infant, and at the same time, begged him to make the Spaniards put the articles of the treaty in execution ; but he received no other answer than encomiums and compliments ; nay Lamboy had orders to repass the Meuse, and join the Cardinal Infant, who was marching to the relief of Aire.

The Cardinal advises the King to besiege Sedan.

In the mean time, Richelieu, not to leave the revolt of the Duke of Bouillon unpunished, ordered the Marshal de Brezé to join his army to that of the Marshal de Chatillon : they amounted together to 25,000 men : the King appeared in person on the frontier ; where all preparations were making for the sacrifice of a new victim to his just indignation. The Duke of Bouillon found himself destitute of assistance : the Emperor had drawn off his troops : Spain had broke her word to him : nevertheless, supported by his courage alone, he prepared himself for a vigorous defence in Sedan, where he did not doubt he should be besieged. It happened luckily for him, that it was of dangerous consequence to undertake the siege of Sedan, while the success of that of Aire was so dubious ; and this conjuncture was the Duke of Bouillon's preservation. The King being arrived at Mezieres, most of the Lords spoke in the Duke's

Duke's favour, some out of hatred to the Cardinal, An. 1641. others out of generosity. Cinqmars†, Master of the horse to the King of France, distinguished himself above all the rest by his zeal for the Duke: he strongly represented to the King the wrongs, the cruelties, and the injustices committed by the Cardinal, who had driven the *Princes of Peace* to the greatest extremities: he palliated the Duke's faults, and at last obtained for him a compleat pardon, on very honourable terms. The town of Sedan was allowed to observe the same neutrality as before the troubles, and the Duke of Bouillon was restored to the full possession of all his estates in France: he on his side promised to release the prisoners made at the battle of Marphée, and restore the baggage, cannon and standards he had taken in that action.

As soon as the conditions were settled, the Duke of Bouillon, accompanied by a great number of gentlemen and officers, waited on the King at Mézières, asked pardon for his fault in the presence of the whole Court, and promised his Majesty an inviolable fidelity for the time to come: \* but at the same time earnestly intreated him to give orders for restoring the memory of the Count de Soissons, who had been arraigned by the Parliament of Paris; for carrying his body into France, to be buried there in the tomb of his ancestors; and for re-establishing such as had espoused his quarrel, in the possession of their estates. The great concern the Duke expressed for the Count's memory, displayed the goodness of his heart, and the nobleness of his sentiments: the King moved by his intreaties, ordered all he asked to be executed.

An. 1642.  
Louis XIII.  
marches into  
Roussillon.

These troubles being appeased, Cardinal Richelieu formed a design of conquering Roussillon. It

† Henry Coiffier d'Effiat, Marquis de Cinqmars.

\* Mem. de Siri, tome 2. liv. 1. & Anecdotes de la vie du Cardinal de Richelieu, tome 1. liv. 3. pag. 468.

An. 1642. was now three years since the Catalans, natural enemies of the Castillans, complaining that the Court of Spain violated all their privileges, had applied themselves to France for protection against the persecutions of the Duke d'Olivarez, his Catholic Majesty's Minister. As Rouffillon interrupted the communication of Languedoc with Catalonia, Richelieu judged the conquest of that province would be necessary for facilitating the passage of the succours to be sent to the rebellious Catalans. At his solicitation, the King went thither in person, and ordered 22,000 men of the best troops in the kingdom to march towards Narbonne, who were to be joined by those already in Languedoc and Dauphiny. The Marshal de Meilleraye had the command of them, and the Viscount de Turenne was named his Lieutenant General. Their first design was to besiege Perpignan; but as the Spaniards might relieve that place by the help of the port of Collioure, where it was easy for them to land, the French contented themselves with blockading Perpignan, and about the middle of March laid siege to Collioure. In a month's time they took sword in hand all the forts which the Governor had built round that town, and the place surrendered on the tenth of April.

April 10.  
Cinqmars's  
conspiracy.

After the taking of Collioure, the King went from Narbonne and invested Perpignan; but in a little time, by the advice of his physicians, returned to Narbonne, on the account of the ill state of his health. He brought the Viscount de Turenne back with him into Languedoc, leaving the care of the siege to the Marshals de Schomberg \* and de la Meilleraye, who took the town by starving it. Salces and several other strong places were carried without much trouble; and the conquest of Rouffillon cost but one single campaign. During the siege

\* Charles de Schomberg, Duke d'Alluin, issue of the antient house of Schomberg in Misnia in Germany.



of Perpignan, which lasted near five months, the Duke of Bouillon entered into a new engagement with the Spaniards. The death of the Count de Soissons had delivered Cardinal Richelieu from a formidable enemy : the other Princes and Lords, who had impatiently born that Minister's authority, were dead, imprisoned or banished. But the moment he flattered himself with having nothing more to fear, he saw himself threatned with the greatest danger he had ever encountered : what neither the Princes of the Blood, the great men of the Kingdom, the forces of Spain, nor the armies of the Empire had been able to effect, was on the point of being executed by the intrigues of young Cinqmars, Master of the horse and the King's favourite.

An. 1642.

Cinqmars owed his fortune to Richelieu, who had brought him to Court : proud of the favour he was in, he resolved to set up for himself, and shake off his dependence on his benefactor : and the Minister perceived his design. Richelieu was zealous in the service of his friends, and no less implacable in his hatred of those who proved false to him : animated with a just resentment, he did all in his power to humble Cinqmars, and blacken him in the King's opinion. The Master of the horse then thought himself disengaged from all ties of gratitude ; and, forgetting, that ill offices ought never to efface the remembrance of essential favours, he on his part laboured to set the King against the Cardinal. He made it his business to draw off his most faithful creatures from his interest, and entered into a close union with his enemies, by the assistance of the President de Thou, who had all the capacity, the talents, and the reputation necessary for gaining those in whom Cinqmars's youth might create a diffidence.

The Duke of Bouillon was one of those who were most warmly solicited : de Thou employed the most

The Duke of Bouillon engages in Cinqmars's affair.

An. 1642. most insinuating and pathetic discourses on this occasion, remonstrating to him that he owed the preservation of Sedan to the Master of the horse, who had prevented the fatal effects of the Cardinal's revenge. Great souls are always constant in gratitude, and sometimes suffer themselves to be misled by friendship. The Duke of Bouillon could not refuse to see Cinqmars : the meeting was at St. Germain en Laye, some time before the King's departure for Perpignan. Cinqmars declared his dispositions, and laid open his projects to the Duke ; having first in the most lively colours represented to him the danger there would be in allowing Cardinal Richelieu to possess himself of the Regency, if the King, whose health declined daily, should die. He made him sensible, that then he would have every thing to fear from a Minister who had always shewn so great a desire of divesting him of his Sovereignty ; and concluded with assuring him, that the Duke of Orleans had put himself at the head of the party, and designed to strengthen it with the assistance of the Spaniards. The Duke of Bouillon replied, that he was ready to enter into all the projects necessary for hindring the Cardinal from tyrannizing over the Kingdom after the King's death, but could never approve of holding any correspondence with the Spaniards ; that he had lately got out of their hands, and would never come into them again. The Duke of Bouillon, who afterwards saw the Duke of Orleans, spoke in the same terms to him that he had done to Cinqmars, and strongly represented to him, that a Prince of his merit, and so near the throne, ought, in case of the King's death, to ground his hopes rather on the subjects of the kingdom, than on foreigners : he promised him, however, that if the Cardinal, after the King's decease, should fail in the respect due to the Royal Family, Sedan should be a retreat for the Queen, the sons of France, and his

his Royal Highness. The Queen received the same assurances from him: Thus out of gratitude to Cinquars, friendship for de Thou, and a just jealousy of the Cardinal, the Duke of Bouillon suffered himself to be drawn into this conspiracy, and made himself suspected of having had a share in the treaty with Spain, though he had always advised against it, and had with unshaken resolution resisted all the solicitations employed to engage him in that affair.

An. 1642.

In spite of the remonstrances of the Duke of Bouillon, and the advice of the President de Thou, the Duke of Orleans and the Master of the Horse treated with Spain. Fontrailles, an intimate friend of Cinquars, and a man of distinction, good understanding and courage, was chosen for that negotiation. He went to Madrid, concluded a treaty with the Duke d'Olivarez, and managed the affair with so much address and secrecy, that he returned to Paris, without any one's knowing of his absence, or having the least suspicion of his journey.

Caston and Cinquars treat with Spain.

Soon after, the Duke of Bouillon was named General of the army in Piedmont; he set out for Italy about the same time that the King set out for Perpignan. The Minister was resolved not to quit the King, thinking by his presence to maintain that authority which the favourite was every day endeavouring to lessen. But during this journey Cinquars gained a yet greater ascendant over the mind of his Master: his credit with the King increased to such a degree, that the Cardinal, alarmed more than ever, addressed himself to Prince Henry Frederic, the Viscount de Turenne's uncle, begging he would write to Louis XIII, in his favour; but the Prince of Orange's Letter had very little effect, and Cinquars's cabal still prevailed. The Cardinal, arriving at Narbonne, fell sick there, and the King continued his journey towards Perpignan. Richelieu, violently afflicted with sickness, was still more so with

The Duke of Bouillon commands in Italy.

An. 1642. the constant apprehension he had that Cinquars would take advantage of his absence, to finish his ruin with the King. In this uneasiness of mind, he made himself be carried, though in an extremely weak and languishing condition, from Narbonne to Tarascon, a town the Governor of which was devoted to him. There, devoured by anxieties, and plunged into the blackest melancholy, he lost that presence of mind, and that resolution which had always supported him. This great Minister, who had obliged the Queen to retire out of France, humbled the grandees, crushed heresy, reduced the power of Spain, checked the conquests of the Emperor, and engaged the attention of all the Princes of Europe, fell into the condition of a man weak, helpless and fearful, who has no expedient left to prevent approaching ruin, nor courage to look it in the face.

Richelieu  
discovers the  
treaty with  
Spain.

He was sinking under his weakness, when an unforeseen accident suddenly raised him again : in this critical moment he discovered the secret treaty made with Spain. It was never well known, who did the Minister this important service, but it is certain that he received a copy of that treaty when he had not the least thought of it. He read it with transport, and found in it the following articles : \* That, in order to put an end to a long and bloody war, equally fatal to France, Spain, the Empire and all Christendom, and to oblige the most Christian King to make a peace, advantageous to the two Crowns, his Catholic Majesty should furnish his Royal Highness the Duke of Orleans, and two of his friends, with 12,000 foot and 5000 horse : that as soon as his Royal Highness should be retired into a fortified place, on which he had fixed by agreement with his two friends, his Catholic Majesty should furnish him with 400,000 crowns to make all the preparations for the war, and

\* See Vittorio Siri's Memoirs of this year.



An. 1642.



100,000 florins monthly for maintaining the necessary troops : that his Royal Highness should command that army ; and his two friends be named Major Generals by the Emperor, with a pension of 8000 florins a month : that the Imperial army in Flanders, and that of the Spaniards commanded by the Duke of Orleans, should join for the mutual assistance of each other : that the King of Spain and the Duke of Orleans should neither of them make peace with France without the consent of the other ; and lastly, that the place of retreat and the two Lords should be named after the ratification of the above articles. At the end of this treaty was found a postscript, in which it was declared that the place intended was SEDAN ; and that the two persons united with the Duke of Orleans, were the DUKE of BOLLON, and the MASTER OF THE HORSE.

As soon as the Cardinal had made this important discovery, he dispatched Chavigni, Secretary of State, to the King, to deliver him a copy of the treaty, shew him all the fatal consequences of this dangerous conspiracy, and exaggerate the baseness of Cinquars's ingratitude. The King having fallen sick before Perpignan, had ordered himself to be carried to Narbonne, and was beginning to recover his strength, when Chavigni arrived. This conspiracy made such an impression on the mind of Louis XIII. that he immediately changed his affection for Cinquars into hatred, and his aversion for the Cardinal into kindness, being deeply sensible of the perfidiousness of the former, and the need he had of the latter. The King gave orders for seizing Cinquars, and at the same time de Thou, whom his intimate union with the Master of the Horse rendered suspected. He ordered them to be conducted to the castle of Pierre-encise, and notwithstanding his weakness, was himself removed to Tarascon. The Duke of Orleans having heard this news, to a-

Cinquars  
and de Thou  
committed  
to prison.

An. 1642. void exposing himself to the King's resentment and the Minister's revenge, revealed the whole secret: he excused his not being able to produce the original of the treaty, because he had burnt it; but delivered a copy of it signed with his own hand, and countersigned by the secretary of his dispatches. The Cardinal, furnished with a piece so decisive for the total ruin of his enemies, gave directions for proceeding against them.

Imprison-  
ment of the  
Duke of  
Bouillon.

The moment Cinqmars was arrested, and before the matter made any noise, the Court had sent orders into Piedmont to secure the person of the Duke of Bouillon. Those who received these orders, durst not signify their commission to him at the head of an army where he was much beloved, but deferred the execution of it till the next Day, when he was to go to Casal. He was there arrested, and from thence carried to Pierre-encise. The very day he arrived at Pierre-encise, his friends privately conveyed a letter to him, informing him of all that had happened. He was moved with extreme indignation, to find that not only Fontrailles had promised the King of Spain, on the part of Gaston, that the Duke of Bouillon should enter into the treaty, and let them have Sedan for a place of safety; but that without his knowledge, they had obtained a pension for him from Philip IV. Fontrailles, to justify himself as to this fraud, had afterwards the assurance to insist upon it, that the Duke of Bouillon had been the first projector of the treaty with Spain: but the proceedings against the Duke, in which we find him perfectly cleared from that accusation, as also the letters he wrote to the Queen and to Gaston after the death of the King and the Cardinal, fully demonstrate the contrary\*.

Cinqmars  
and de Thou  
beheaded.

In the mean time, the Chancellor Seguier prepared with all diligence for the prosecution of the prisoners. Cinqmars and de Thou were condemned to

lose

\* See the vouchers at the end, N. 10.

lose their heads, the one as the author of the treaty with Spain, the other for having been privy to it and not having revealed it; they died with great intrepidity and sentiments of real piety.

An. 1642.



The Duke  
of Bouillon is  
released  
from prison.

The Duke of Bouillon remained in great tranquillity of mind, through a false persuasion that he had done nothing but what became a man of honour; that it would have been inconsistent with that character to have discovered the secret of his friends; and that the not having signed any thing relating to the treaty with Spain, or impowered any other to treat for him was sufficient to acquit him of all guilt: but when he learnt that the President de Thou was condemned, and that the laws are not less severe against misprision of treason than against treason itself, he no longer doubted of his ruin, and thought only of dying with the same heroic sentiments he had shewn during his life. The proceedings against him however came to nothing: the pressing instances of his uncles the Prince of Orange and the Landgrave of Hesse in his favour, joined to those of the Viscount de Turenne, with whose merit the Cardinal was thoroughly acquainted, softened the Minister: but that which most efficaciously contributed to the saving of this illustrious criminal, was the resolute conduct of the Duchess of Bouillon, who threatened to deliver up Sedan to the Spaniards, in case her husband was put to death. As the Cardinal had not so much a design against the person of the Duke of Bouillon, as upon his sovereignty, he soon came to an accommodation with him, by which it was agreed, that the King's troops should be admitted into Sedan, that his Majesty should give in exchange for that city several considerable estates in France, and while things were preparing for the execution of this exchange, the Duke of Bouillon should be released from prison and retire to Turenne.

The death  
of Richelieu  
of Louis  
XIII.

The acquisition of Sedan, which has ever since remained

An. 1643. remained united to the Crown, was one of the last advantages Cardinal Richelieu procured to France : this great Minister died after an eighteen years administration, in which he was less loved than feared, but admired by all, even by those who had reason to hate him. Before his death he had chosen Cardinal Mazarin to succeed him in the Ministry ; and his choice was approved. The King died five months after Richelieu, leaving Queen Anne of Austria his wife, Regent of the Kingdom during the minority of Louis XIV. who was then but four years and a half old.

The Vis-  
count de Tu-  
renne returns  
into Italy.

The Queen in the very beginning of her administration, gave the Viscount de Turenne a proof of the highest esteem. The face of affairs in Italy was intirely changed : the Spaniards having been obliged to carry the principal part of their forces on the side of Catalonia, and being no longer able to succour Prince Thomas as formerly, had bent their thoughts wholly to secure to themselves the places conquered in Piedmont, by garisoning them with their own troops, contrary to the faith of treaties. Prince Thomas seeing himself thus abandoned, and exposed every day to suffer new insults, had lent an ear to the remonstrances of his sister in law ; and openly breaking with Spain, had come to an accommodation with France. The Queen Regent soon sent him letters patent constituting him GENERAL OF THE KING'S ARMIES IN ITALY : but as no great stress could yet be laid upon his attachment, it was thought proper to have near him a man that could be depended upon : and the Viscount de Turenne was the person chosen for this post of confidence. Prince Thomas was much taken with the conversation of the young Viscount, and being sensible of his superiority in the art of war, left the conduct of the army entirely to him : this he did the rather, as his own bad state of health, put him out of a condition of acting.

Turenne



Turenne discharged all the functions of a General with as much glory as modesty. To oblige the Spaniards to quit Piedmont, he made a feint as if he would carry the war into the Milanese and marched immediately to Alexandria. He invested this place, but yet so, as that the enemy might throw succours into it, by the large intervals he left on purpose between the several quarters of his army. The Spaniards fell into the snare, and drew out almost half the garrison of Trin, a city of Piedmont, to throw it into Alexandria, a city of the Milanese: then the Viscount, who had pretended a design upon Alexandria only to make the enemy ungarrison Trin, went and besieged this latter place in form. The out-works were quickly carried: the Spaniards came and viewed the French quarters, in order, if possible, to throw back again into the town the troops they had drawn from it; finding that impracticable, they tried the Viscount's own stratagem, feigned a design upon Asti, and invested it, but to no purpose: as the Viscount had stored it with every thing necessary for sustaining a siege, he continued that of Trin, and took it in six weeks. While he was preparing to reconquer, in like manner, all the towns of Piedmont that were possessed by the Spaniards, the Queen sent him a Marshal of France's staff. He was then but thirty two years of age.

Sept. 24.

Such was the Viscount de Turenne's apprenticeship to the profession of arms, during the space of seventeen whole years that he served under different Generals before he commanded in chief. For twelve months he carried a musket as a volunteer, was four years a Captain, four years a Colonel, \* three years a Major General, and five years a Lieutenant General.

The characters given by the Viscount of his four masters.

\* The regiment of Turenne was always kept on foot, became a school for soldiers, and produced several Lieutenant Generals, Marshals of France, and Officers of the greatest ability and distinction.

An. 1643. Nothing does him more honour, than the acknowledgments he made of what he thought he owed to each of his masters. He used to say, “ that he  
 “ learnt from his uncle Henry Prince of Orange,  
 “ how to choose a camp to advantage ; to attack a  
 “ town regularly ; remotely to form a project, re-  
 “ solve it a long time in his thoughts, and let nothing  
 “ of it appear till the very moment of execution ;  
 “ to avoid ostentation, fill his mind with elevated  
 “ sentiments, and have a more ardent zeal for the  
 “ interests of his country than for his own glory.”  
 Speaking of the Duke of Weymar, he was wont to  
 say, “ That he was a General who *with nothing did*  
 “ *every thing*, yet was never vain of his success ;  
 “ that when he had fallen into a misfortune, he did  
 “ not lose time in complaining, but wholly ap-  
 “ plied his thoughts how to get out of it ; that he  
 “ chose rather to be unjustly blamed than to excuse  
 “ himself at the expence of his friends who had not  
 “ performed well in the action ; that he was more  
 “ intent upon repairing his faults than making  
 “ useless apologies ; and lastly, that he was much  
 “ fonder of being loved than feared by the sol-  
 “ diers.” He had observed under Cardinal de  
 la Valette, “ That a General who would be agree-  
 “ able to his army, must, upon going into the  
 “ field, renounce the false delicacies of a court  
 “ life, gallantry, the amusements of wit and ima-  
 “ gination, and live with the officers after their fa-  
 “ shion, without ceremony and without affectation.”  
 By seeing the conduct of the Count d’Harcourt he  
 was confirmed in Cæsar’s grand maxim, “ That  
 “ of all the military virtues diligence and expedition  
 “ are the most essential, and that they seldom fail  
 “ to carry success along with them, when they are  
 “ accompanied with prudence and circumspection.

The END of the FIRST BOOK.

T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E  
Viscount de TURENNE.

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BOOK the SECOND.

**A**FTER the death of Louis XIII. the Duke of Bouillon had left Turenne and gone to court, where he was so favourably received by the Queen, that it was concluded he would fill the first posts in the state ; nevertheless he afterwards found, not only the Queen, but even the Duke of Orleans, to whose interest he had sacrificed himself, grow more and more cool towards him. Cardinal Mazarin, jealous of his abilities, endeavoured to tire him out with the difficulties he started concerning the exchange of Sedan, and the preservation of his rank. The Duke could not conceal his resentments ; so that Mazarin fearing lest he should seek revenge, proposed, in open council, to seize his person ; but the Duke having notice of the Minister's design, returned in haste to Turenne, and resolved to leave the Kingdom without delay. Whilst he was considering into what country he should retire, to screen himself from the ill treatment of Mazarin, Pope Urban VIII. offered him, by an Italian Prelate, the post of Generalissimo of the troops of the Church, in the war called Barberine :

An. 1644.  
The Duke  
of Bouillon  
returns to the  
court, and  
soon after  
leaves France.

An. 1644. berine \* : he accepted the offer, and went to Rome ; and the jealousy and injustice of the Cardinal followed him thither. The Ambassador of France, who had sent word to Paris, that the Duke of Bouillon was going to be treated as a Sovereign Prince in the public ceremonies at Rome, received orders to oppose it, under pretence that the Duke had been deprived of his sovereignty during his imprisonment at Pierre-encise. The Duke represented to the Pope, that he still enjoyed the same rights as before, with the King's consent ; and that his Majesty held Sedan by the same title that he held Casal, the property of which was still in the Duke of Mantua : Cardinal Barbarini answered, “ That the Court “ of Rome, always circumspect in its proceedings, “ was accustomed, before it allowed the titles “ claimed by foreign Princes, to examine whether they were due to them or not :” And he therefore desired the Duke to consent, that an enquiry should be made into the rights of his family. The commissioners appointed to examine the archives of the Vatican, after a long search, produced several authentic records, by which it † appeared, that the Most Christian King, his Catholic Majesty, and the Emperor had treated the Princes of Sedan as Sovereign Princes. The Duke, upon this report, was acknowledged as such ; the honours due to that rank were paid him in the public ceremonies, as well as in private ; and the Pope even gave him the arm-chair.

The Viscount de Turenne goes to command in Germany.

The splendor with which the Duke of Bouillon appeared at Rome, made Cardinal Mazarin, who

\* The Cardinals Anthony and Francis Barberini, nephews of Pope Urban VIII. proposed to the Duke of Parma, to sell them some of the lands of Castro, which were near theirs : this offer was rejected, and the Barberini pressed their uncle to revenge it, by revoking certain rights which the Popes had granted to the Farneses. The Duke enraged at this, took up arms, declared war against the Holy See, and entered into a league with the Venetians, and the Dukes of Modena and Tuscany, against the Ecclesiastical State. Cardinal Anthony raised troops, and the Pope desired the Duke of Bouillon to be their Captain-General.

† See the memoirs of Chastour, as cited by M. Baluze.

was



was not acquainted with the character of the Vis-<sup>An. 1644.</sup>count de Turenne, apprehensive that it might be dangerous to leave this General longer in Italy, so near a brother who was dissatisfied and provoked; and he sent him to gather up the remains of the Weymarian army in Germany. The Marshal de Guébriant, who was lately † dead of a wound received at the siege of ‖ Rotweil, had been General of that army for four years; and the Count de Rantzau, his successor, had brought it near Dutlingen, a city of Suabia on the Danube, where Count \* Merci, the General of the Bavarian troops, surprized him, beat him, and made him prisoner, with most of the General Officers, and almost all his troops, except between five and six thousand horse, which escaped to this side of the Rhine. With these remains of the Rout, the banks of that river were to be defended against the armies of the Emperor and the Dukes of Bavaria and Lorrain, who had united in hopes of making their advantage of the defeat of the French; and to add to these misfortunes, Torstenson, whom Queen Christina had sent to command the Swedes in Germany, after the death of General Banier, was gone into Holstein, without giving any notice of his departure. Such was the melancholy state of affairs in Germany, when the Viscount de Turenne had orders to repair thither. The Cardinal forced him to leave the triumphant army in Italy, to go and collect troops which were defeated, dispersed, and without either leader, arms, or money. The Viscount was by this fully convinced of the ill dispositions of the Minister towards him and his house: yet far from shewing any resentment he seemed content, and considered his new employment as an opportunity of increasing his

† He died the 24th of November 1643.

‖ An Imperial city at the source of the Neckar.

\* Francis de Merci, a Gentleman of Lorrain, and native of Longuy in the Barrois.

glory,

An. 1644. glory, by surmounting the difficulties he should meet with in the discharge of it. He set out for Alsace, and arrived at Colmar in December 1643. As the enemy had left the field, he made it his first concern to provide good quarters for his troops: he drew them out of Alsace, which was ruined, and marched them into the mountains of Lorraine, there to spend the winter. This army was in a general want of every thing; in order to supply their wants the more speedily, Turenne, before the Court sent him any remittance, borrowed considerable sums upon his own credit, and whilst most of the great men in the kingdom were selling the smallest services they did the crown, at a very high price, he remounted 5000 Troopers, and clothed 4000 foot, which made the whole of the King's army, at his own expence. It was scarce possible to undertake any thing of importance with so small a number; nevertheless the Viscount, as soon as the spring began, formed a design of surprizing General Mercis brother: knowing that he was posted with 2000 horse beyond the Black Forest in Hutingen, near the springs of the Danube, he advanced towards the Rhine, and passed it at Brisac.

His generosity to d'Er-  
fac Governor  
of Brisac.

D'Erclac, the Governor of that place, had abandoned it at the Viscount's approach, and informed him by letter, that the reason of his leaving the city, which he delivered into his hands, was a persuasion that the Court suspected his fidelity. The Viscount, who knew the merit of this Officer, far from taking advantage of his weakness, and seizing his Government, sent Tracy, one of their common friends, to him, to desire him to return immediately and reassume his employment. When Turenne had reinstated d'Erclac, and removed his apprehensions, he continued his march towards the head of the Danube, and caused Gaspar Baron de Mercis to be attacked by four or five regiments, who defeated his cavalry, and took three or four

four hundred soldiers prisoners, with many Officers : An. 1644. the rest escaped to the Bavarian army commanded by Count Merci, the Baron's brother.

In the mean time, the several powers of Europe were mediating a general peace. It was now near five and twenty years that the fatal religious war, kindled by the troubles in Bohemia, had continued in the Empire, and had successively put all the States of Christendom into a flame : it had been attended with such various success, that both parties were at length grown weary of it ; all the Princes and States of the Empire had, for three years past, unanimously cried out for peace. The Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, who were the most ardent for it, had prevailed on the Kings of England and Denmark to offer their mediation to the Protestant Princes ; and Pope Urban VIII. had offered his to the Catholic. The Emperor had come to Ratisbon, and there called a Diet of the Empire, to deliberate on the most proper means to put an end to the war. Long disputes had arisen about the place for holding the congress ; and at length it had been agreed, by a treaty signed at Hamburgh in 1641, that the negotiations should be carried on both at Munster and at Osnabrug in Westphalia ; that France should treat at Munster, and Sweden at Osnabrug ; that each of these two Crowns should have a Resident in the city where the other should have its Plenipotentiaries, in order mutually to communicate their resolutions to each other ; and lastly, that the two treaties being considered only as one, neither of the two Crowns should make peace till the other was satisfied. From that time all Europe conceived hopes of an approaching peace ; and the congress was to have been opened in March 1642. But Cardinal Richelieu, not thinking that France could yet gain advantages enough by a peace, had affectedly retarded it, by carrying his Master's pretensions too high,

An. 1644. high, the hostilities continued, the French and Swedes united, and the peace was postponed. Upon the death of Richelieu, the conferences were renewed, and the defeat of the French army in Germany, after the death of Marshal de Guébriant, determined Cardinal Mazarin to send Plenipotentiaries to Munster. The persons chosen for this employment were two of the ablest men in France for negotiations, the Counts d'Avaux and Servien, whose characters were very opposite; these Ministers disputing about precedence, the Duke de Longueville was sent to remove all causes of dissention between them; and to give a greater weight to the embassy, by placing a Prince at the head of it. There had not been any negotiation for several ages, in which so many Monarchs, Princes and Sovereign States were interested, and so many able politicians employed. The congress was at length opened about the end of April in this year.

The Viscount  
marches to  
relieve Fri-  
bourg.

\* In May the Bavarian army, after it had been refreshed by good quarters, and augmented to the number of 8000 foot and 7000 horse, besieged Fribourg, which is five leagues from Brisac. The Viscount de Turenne marched in all haste to relieve it with his army, which was only 10000 men, and came up with the enemy in a plain near it. General Merci did not expect this sudden march, and had only had time to open the trenches, and not enough to seize the advantageous posts in the neighbourhood. The Viscount perceived this defect, and flattered himself that he should be able to gain some advantages by it, notwithstanding the inequality of his forces. Observing that the Bavarians had not taken possession of a mountain called the Black Mountain, which commanded the plain; he or-

\* I here blend M. de Turenne's account with the narrative of the campaign of Fribourg, by the Marquis de la Moutte, as retouched by la Chapelle.



dered a battalion of two regiments, which made An. 1644. 1500 men, to march thither, and advanced with the rest of his infantry to support them. Upon this motion the enemy detached twenty men, who climbed up to the top of the mountain, on the opposite side; and upon their first fire, the French, believing that all the enemies infantry were there, instead of mounting up, marched along the side of it: upon the second fire they gave way, and ran down with precipitation; this disorder gave Merci an opportunity to seize the mountain, and Turenne encamped on a little eminence, in sight of the enemy, who continued the siege. After some skirmishes, and an engagement between the cavalry, wherein seven or eight hundred Bavarian horse were defeated, upon advice that the city was capitulating, he resolved to run no more hazards to relieve it, and retired a league and an half from Fribourg.

July 28.

The Court being informed that the King's army was too weak to attack the Imperialists, ordered Louis de Bourbon Duke d'Enguien to join the Viscount de Turenne. The Duke had already made himself known: Rocroi had seen him, at twenty two years of age, put a stop to the rapid march of the Spaniards, till then victorious, and cut in pieces their formidable infantry. By this glorious action he had merited, yet more than by his birth, to command in chief the French troops ordered into Germany to oppose the progress of Count Merci. The Bavarian General, besides other great talents, had, in an eminent degree, the arts of securing himself against surprize, of penetrating into the designs of the enemy, and of making up for the want of numbers by encamping to advantage. To cope with such an enemy required Enguien or Turenne: the Prince and the Viscount were of different characters, but being both animated by the same zeal for the publick good, they always united in the

The Duke  
d'Enguien  
joins the Vis-  
count de Tu-  
renne near  
Fribourg.

An. 1644. same schemes, and nothing could disturb the harmony between them.

The Duke d'Enguien arrives at the Viscount's camp and holds a council of war there.

The Duke d'Enguien was at Amblemont, near Mouzon, when he received orders to set out for Germany; in 13 days march he came near Brisac, with 10000 men; and leaving to \* Marfin the care of passing the Rhine with them, he and the Marshal de Gramont advanced to the Viscount's camp, where he held a council of war, as soon as he arrived. Turenne, who perfectly well understood the state of the Bavarians, was for marching the army by Langendentzling and the valley of Bloterthal, to the valley of St. Pierre, in order to intercept the enemies provisions, which could come only from Villingen, two leagues from the head of the Danube, beyond the mountains of the Black Forest; adding, that it was as easy to starve them, as it would be dangerous to attack them in a camp fortified by all the advantages of situation, and defended by veteran troops, commanded by the greatest General in Germany. D'Erlac and the Marshal de Gramont were of the same opinion: the Duke d'Enguien alone was absolutely for attacking the enemy in their entrenchments: he went himself to reconnoitre the Bavarian camp, and neighbouring places, with the Viscount, who shewed him a narrow pass, where a part of the army might take the enemy in the left flank, while the rest attacked them in front, and in the right flank.

The number of the King's troops, and the Situation of the Bavarian Camp.

The King's troops, of which the Duke d'Enguien was Generalissimo, were divided into two Bodies; one, called the army of France, consisted of 6000 foot and 4000 horse, commanded by the Marshal de Gramont; the other, called the Weymarian army, consisting of 5000 foot and 5000 horse, under the Viscount de Turenne. The Bavarian army amounted

\* John-Gaspard-Ferdinand, a Lord of Liege, afterwards a Count of the Empire, and Knight of the Order of the Garter in England.

to above 15000 men, but it was incamped in a place almost inaccessible, at a little distance from Fribourg. This city stands at the foot of the mountains of the Black Forest, which open in the form of a crescent, on one side by the valley of St. Pierre, and on the other by the valley of Bloterthal; and both these terminate near a mountain, called the Abby of the valley of St. Pierre. Before Fribourg is a little plain, watered by a rivulet. It is bounded on the right by steep Mountains, and on the left by marshy woods, through which there is only one very narrow road from Brisac to Fribourg. In this advantageous situation General Merci was posted: his camp, which filled the little plain, was extended along the side of the rivulet, and fortified with a strong entrenchment; he had Fribourg behind him, and an eminence before him. On the declivity of this eminence, towards the French, he raised and pallisaded a fort, where he posted 600 men, with the artillery: from thence he carried on a line by the wood, mounting towards the summit of the hill, which line he defended with redoubts at 200 paces distance from each other; and to make the access to it the more difficult, he felled all along the side of it, a great many trees, whose branches being so cut, as to point every way, answered the purposes of chevaux-de-frise. Between the eminence, which was at the head of the enemy's camp, and the mountains to the left, as you come from Fribourg, was the defile by which Merci might be attacked in flank, but it could not be come at without taking a great compass. Merci had blocked up their entrance into his camp with felled fir-trees: he had also lined the woods which were to the right and left with his infantry, and imagined that no body would ever attempt a passage which he thought he had rendered impracticable.

This situation of the enemy's camp, made the council of war once more debate the expediency of attacking

The disposition for the attack of Merci's camp.



An. 1644. attacking it ; but the Duke d'Enguien persisted in his opinion : and being fully persuaded that nothing could withstand him, he resolved to go himself with the army of France, to drive the Bavarians from the mountain, gain the eminence, and then fall down on their camp, whilst the Viscount should go with the Weymarian troops, to take the enemy in flank, by the way of the defile. And as he must necessarily march a great way round, it was agreed, that the Prince should not begin his attack till three hours before sun-set, that the Viscount might make his at the same time.

The first  
engagement.

Turenne set out the third of August, by break of day ; and whilst he was marching round the mountains, the Duke d'Enguien prepared for his attack, in this manner. His infantry consisted of six battalions of 800 men each : Espenan, \* Marshal de Camp, was detached with two battalions to begin the charge ; the Count de Tournon put himself at the head of the regiments of Conti and Mazarin, to sustain Espenan ; the Duke d'Enguien reserved two regiments to be employed as occasion should require ; the Marshal de Gramont and the Count de Marfin continued near his person ; the Count || de Palluau, since Marshal de Clerembault, supported the whole attack with Enguien's regiment of horse ; and the gendarmes were posted at the entrance into the plain, in a very narrow place, to hinder the Bavarians from taking the infantry in flank. At the hour agreed on by the two Generals, the young Prince attacked the mountain with his infantry. In order to get to the enemy, they were forced to climb a very steep ascent, cross a vineyard, in which there were, at certain distances, walls of four foot high to support the earth. The detachment courageously

\* Roger de Boffolt, Count d'Espenan, of the province of Bigorre, since nominated to be a Knight of the Holy Ghost.

|| Philip de Clerembault, Count de Palluau, was made Marshal of France nine years after, in 1653,

marched



marched up, drove the enemy from those terrasses, An. 1644. and pushed them to the fence of felled trees, which was before their trenches: nevertheless the Bavarians made so great a fire, that the French infantry could not force this fence, without the loss of a great many men, and even without breaking their ranks. The Duke d'Enguien, who had drawn near to see the event of this attack, observed that his first line was at a stand, neither advancing nor retiring; he strait dismounted, put himself at the head of the regiment of Conti, and marched up to the enemy sword in hand. The Count de Tournon, the Marshal Gramont, and the chief officers and volunteers, dismounted likewise; their example gave new courage to the soldiers: the Duke d'Enguien advancing the foremost, they all followed him, forced the barricade, and threw themselves in crowds over the enemies trenches. The Bavarians fled into the neighbouring woods; the French infantry left their ranks to pursue them; but the Duke d'Enguien instantly rallied them, and posted soldiers in the redoubts which he had just gained. Immediately after, notwithstanding the difficulties of the way, he made the cavalry mount, and so possessed himself of the eminence, after a battle of three hours, which had cost Merci above 3000 men. The day was now closed; the Bavarians were still in possession of the pallisaded fort, where their artillery was planted, and the runaways, who were dispersed in the wood, might assemble again, or lay in ambush: Enguien therefore durst not go further, and he contented himself with informing the Viscount, by his trumpets and kettle-drums, that the French had gained the top of the mountain, resolving to wait for the day, before he marched down into the plain.

Turenne had made his attack at the same hour as the Duke: after he had forced the entrance into the pass, he was obliged to fight every step he

An. 1644. took, in order to dislodge the infantry, who were posted to the right and left, and entrenched behind felled trees ; but he pressed the enemy so vigorously. that he made himself master of the defile, and forced his passage over the ditches and hollow-ways which ran across it, into the plain, about the close of the day. The Duke d'Enguien had just then put a stop to the battle on his side, and Merci therefore turned his chief strength against the Viscount : the troops engaged in fight were at forty paces distance, firing with great fury on both sides ; a great deal of rain fell, and the darkness of the night increased the horrors of a place, which had no light but what came from the continual fire of the muskets. The action lasted near seven hours ; and notwithstanding the prodigious efforts of the Bavarians, the Viscount kept the ground he had gained, though the enemy's infantry was supported by all their cavalry, and his had only one squadron behind them, for want of room to draw up in battalia. General Merci having here likewise lost 3000 men, turned his thoughts wholly to save the rest of his army, by a retreat ; the darkness of the night favoured his design, and his troops stole away, whilst some ranks of musketeers, who were left upon the place, made a continual fire. As soon as it was day these fled ; and Turenne finding nothing to oppose him, marched out into the plain, where the Duke d'Enguien, who came down from the mountain, soon joined him. The enemy had halted, at a league's distance, upon the Black Mountain, which is near Fribourg, and were beginning to entrench themselves there. Could the King's infantry have marched after them immediately, they might have surprized them in great disorder ; but being no less fatigued with the rains, than with fighting, and having lost a great number of officers and soldiers, they wanted a day's rest ; and the Duke postponed attacking the


the enemy, in their new trenches, till the next day \*. An. 1644.

There is a level piece of ground, one third of the way up the Black Mountain, (which stands between Fribourg and the plain, where the enemy had encamped the first day,) large enough to contain three or four thousand men drawn up in battalia. Merci, with his usual judgment, improved every advantage the place afforded him; posted the greatest body of his infantry at the edge of this flat, placed the rest behind a wood, about the middle of the mountain, and extended his cavalry from that wood to the walls of the city. The lines made for the siege of Fribourg served to inclose this new camp on that side, and the bottom of the mountain, towards the plain, was fortified with several rows of felled trees; so that his right wing was defended by the canon of the city, and his left by the mountain. The Duke d'Enguien resolved to make two attacks at the same time; one on the trenches, the other on the fence of trees; and between these to make a false attack with a few men only, purely to favour the true ones.

The next day, which was the fifth of August, the Viscount appeared early, with the advanced guard, at the foot of the mountain; the Prince's army followed him, and was to post it self so, as that the two attacks might be made at the same time. Just when they were going to begin, a great tumult was observed among the Bavarians: the Duke and the Viscount immediately ascended a neighbouring mountain, in order to discover the true cause of it; and as they passed by, forbade their officers to attempt any thing in their absence. But notwithstanding these orders, Espenan commanded a detachment to attack a redoubt which was in his way: the soldiers engaged; and as fast as the Bavarians

The second  
engagement  
of Fribourg.

\* This first action was on the third of August.

An. 1644. sent to support those who were on the defensive,  Espenan reinforced the assailants. In the midst of the engagement, which grew more and more general, a terrible discharge of the enemy's canon and musketry served for a signal to the French, who advanced on all sides, without order or leader. The Bavarians, emboldened by this their confusion, rushed out of their lines, fell upon them, and utterly routed them : the Prince and Viscount galloped thither in all haste, but in vain attempted to rally them ; the fright had seized the officers as well as the soldiers. When the Prince found he could not bring on his troops again to the charge, he immediately changed his plan ; at the place where the attack had failed, he left only a few men to amuse the enemy, and resolved to bend all his strength to the side of the plain. Enguien and Turenne, with the whole body of the infantry, supported by the gendarmes and Weymarian cavalry, marched directly to the fence of trees. The attack and the defence were equally vigorous : the French drove the enemy several times from their entrenchments, and were themselves as often repulsed. Gaspard Merci, to support his infantry, who began to give way, made his cavalry dismount : the conflict was renewed with fury ; and could not have ended without a terrible slaughter, if the sudden approach of night had not obliged the assailants to retire, without having been able to force the enemy. It cost the French 2000 foot, and the Bavarians 1200, who, at the same time, lost Gaspard Merci their General's brother: but as the latter had lost half their infantry in the first action, the Duke d'Enguien's army was still superior to that of Merci ; and the Prince prepared for a third engagement. The French continued in presence of the enemy, in a camp covered with blood, heaps of dead and dying. This moving sight affected the compassionate Viscount ; he visited



visited in person the field of battle, and caused the wounded, without distinction of friends and enemies, to be taken up and carried to Brisac. In the heat of battle, and in the midst of slaughter, humanity was ever in him the basis of heroism.

The Duke d'Enguien, after he had rested his troops four days, thought proper to change his scheme. As the Bavarians could retire to Villingen no other way but by the valley of St. Pierre, he marched his army towards Langendentzling, in order to pass through the valley of Bloterthal, at the same time that the enemy should enter that of St. Pierre, and to intercept them at the Abby, where the two vallies terminate. Early on the morning, the ninth of August, the Viscount de Turenne marched with the Weymarian troops, and the Duke d'Enguien kept with his in the enemy's presence, till the Viscount had passed the marshes, woods, and the rivulets of Treissam; then the Prince rejoined him at Langendentzling, the Bavarians not making the least attempt to dispute the passage with him. Merci having observed the march of the French, immediately saw through the Prince's design, and judged that his safety depended on preventing it by a speedy retreat. As soon therefore as he saw the rear-guard of the French begin to move, he decamped his army, which was reduced to between six and seven thousand men, and took his way over \* the eminences that commanded the valley of St. Pierre. At the same time the Duke d'Enguien marched with great diligence through the valley of Bloterthal: but fearing lest his troops, which were extremely fatigued, should not be able to come up with the enemy soon enough, he sent Rosen forwards with only 800 horse, to retard the Bavarians, by harassing them in their retreat, whilst the rest of the army advanced to intercept them.

An. 1644.

The third  
engagement  
of Fribourg.

\* Mem. MS. of M. de Turenne.

An. 1644. Rosen \* attacked their rear-guard in a plain near the Abby of the valley of St. Pierre, and routed a part of the Bavarian infantry ; but the main body of their army returning upon him, he was forced to retire fighting in confusion, and mingled with the enemy. The Viscount, who was with the van-guard, appeared then on a neighbouring eminence : As soon as the Bavarian horse perceived him, they halted for fear of being surrounded. Merci retired about twelve or fifteen hundred paces from the place of action, into a wood, where he left his canon and baggage, and from thence marched with such expedition over the mountains, that the French army lost sight of him in a moment. The Duke d'Enguien pursued him as far as Holgrave, and the Viscount de Turenne two leagues farther ; but the badness of the roads hindered their continuing the pursuit, and the Bavarians soon reached the country of Wirtemberg, whither it was not thought proper to follow them.

Thus ended the famous action of Fribourg, in which the Bavarians lost between eight and nine thousand men, with their artillery, and almost all their horses : the loss of the French was likewise very great : but as Merci had been forced to decamp, the honour of victory was given to the Duke d'Enguien. Nevertheless, the glory of the vanquished was little inferior to that of the victors ; the well conducted retreat of Merci, in presence of an army that pressed hard upon him, was not less honourable than the Prince's victory, who had surmounted all the obstacles of nature and art, in order to attack him.

\* Reinhold Rosen, Lord of Grosropp, descended from one of the best families in Livonia ; after he had served under the great Gustavus, followed the fortunes of the Duke of Weymar, who left him the command of the Swedish horse, and named him, by his will, one of the directors of the army, with the Counts de Nassau, Erlach and Ohern. He died without issue male, and gave his daughter, with a considerable fortune, to Conrad Rosen de Klein-zopp, who afterwards became a Marshal of France, and a Knight of the order of the Holy Ghost.

Enguien returned towards Langendentzling, and posted himself near the same camp from whence he had come : there he deliberated how to make the greatest advantage of the retreat of the Bavarians. The chief officers were for retaking Fribourg ; the Viscount de Turenne was of a different opinion : he represented, that as the Bavarian army was now twenty leagues off, and could not draw near them again, for want of forage and provisions, they ought to seize that opportunity of making themselves masters of the whole course of the Rhine, and even of the Palatinate, and not confine themselves to the reducing of one single town, which would take up all the remainder of their time : and that by this means they might close the campaign, which had hitherto been doubtful, with a very important conquest. The Duke d'Enguien, who was always ready for great undertakings, approved this scheme, and proposed the siege of Philippsbourg. It was no easy enterprize ; it was necessary to make a long march to get at it ; the infantry was diminished, money was scarce, and provisions at a great distance : but the Prince made light of all these difficulties, and the siege was resolved on. The Viscount de Turenne went himself to Brisac, concerted with the Governor the means of carrying all necessaries for the siege down the Rhine, and then returned to the camp. The army decamped on the sixteenth of August : the Duke d'Enguien marched along the Rhine, by the Marquisate of Baden : he detached Tubal and Rosen with part of the Weymarian cavalry, and some foot and dragoons, to seize several forts or castles, and some little walled towns which were in their way. On the twenty third of August, the Viscount de Turenne with 3000 horse and 700 foot invested Philippsburg, and the Duke d'Enguien arrived the next day, after a ten day's march.

An. 1644.

The Duke  
d'Enguien  
returns to  
his camp and  
resolves to  
attack Phi-  
lippsbourg.

The

An. 1644. The fortifications of this place, which stood on the Rhine, were not then faced: it had seven bastions, the ramparts of which were *fraised* and pallisaded; round the whole was a *berm*, defended by a very thick quickset hedge: the ditch was wide, deep, and full of water; and a square fort, which commanded the Rhine, at the distance of 800 paces from the town, had a communication with it by a causeway. On one side, the river made a great elbow, and formed many morasses; on the other there was nothing but heath, wood, and ploughed lands; so that the approach could only be made one way. The garrison scarce exceeded 800 foot, and 200 horse; but Bamberg, an officer of great reputation, who was Governor of the place, had a 100 pieces of canon, and ammunition enough to hold out a long siege.

The Duke d'Enguien fixes his quarters round the town.

After the Duke d'Enguien had viewed the ground about the town, he spent the rest of the day in taking his posts, and prepared for attacking the fort of the Rhine in the night. The French army took up their quarters from Knaudenheim to a rivulet which divided the plain; and the Weymarian army was posted from this rivulet to Rhinhausen. As soon as it was night, the troops began their march towards the fort: the Duke fetched a compass round the woods, and the Viscount approached it by little banks that ran cross the morass. Bamberg, not having infantry enough, had withdrawn those that were to have defended the fort, from thence into Philippsbourg; so that Turenne, who arrived first, finding it abandoned, seized it, and supplied it with every thing necessary to guard it against any attack from the town.

He secures and fortifies his lines.

Then the Duke d'Enguien made it his sole business to secure his circumvallation: he raised forts and redoubts where the ground would admit of it, and felled a great number of trees in the marshes to stop



stop up all the roads. The Viscount found less An. 1644. difficulty in fortifying his post; he made use of a hollow way, which reached almost from one end of his quarters to the other, and made it defensible by raising a parapet before it. The circumvallation was finished in four days, and the whole camp inclosed on all sides from Knaudenheim to Rhinhausen.

In the mean time the boats arrived, loaded with canon, ammunition, and provisions. In four and twenty hours a bridge was made over-against Knaudenheim and Germesheim. The taking of Germesheim was the only thing that could secure the upper part of the Rhine: and as no circumvallation could be made on the other side of that river, it was necessary to seize all the places that commanded it. As soon as the bridge was finished, the Duke d'Enguieu sent the Marquis d'Aumont with 600 foot and 300 horse, to attack Germesheim. D'Aumont made himself master of it, in two days after he had opened his trenches, and then marched to Spires. This City, which stands on the Rhine, was considerable for nothing but the Imperial \* Chamber that was held there. As it was then without a garrison, and only inclosed by a wall with common towers; and as there were no Imperial troops on that side, it surrendered on the first summons, and received a French garrison the twenty ninth of August.

Whilst the Marquis d'Aumont was seizing the places of importance on the banks of the Rhine, the Duke d'Enguieu began his attacks on Philippsbourg. It has already been observed, that the approaches could only be carried on at one place, where the ground is sandy, and continues of the same breadth quite up to the counterscarp of two of the bastions of the town. The Duke d'Enguieu ordered two attacks to be made by this way; the Marshal de Gramont commanded that on the

He makes a bridge over the Rhine, and takes Germesheim and Spires.

He begins his attacks on Philippsbourg.

\* The Imperial Chamber was removed from Spires to Welzlar, in 1688.  
left,

An. 1644. left, and the Viscount de Turenne that on the right :

~~~~~ In their approaches to the two bastions, they both made use of about 1500 paces of the channel of a small brook which runs through this plain, and whose stream they had diverted another way. The trenches were opened on the first of September ; and the next night they made a place of arms common to both attacks, from which each should carry on his approaches towards his bastion.

The besieged  
sally and are  
repulsed.

Espenan, with the regiment of Persan, was upon guard the first night, in Gramont's trenches ; and after he had carried them on near 200 paces, he began a great redoubt, where he placed, at the head of the workmen, a guard of 100 gendarmes, with orders to retire, in the day time, behind the ruins of an house which were near the trenches. As soon as there was light enough for the besieged to see that the ground was broken, they detached 200 foot and 100 horse, to ruin the works which had been raised in the night : immediately the gendarmes appeared to oppose them ; and though broken at the first shock, they rallied, and notwithstanding the fire of the bastions, drove back the enemy as far as the counterscarp.

The attack  
on the side  
of the Mar-  
shal de Gra-  
mont.

The infantry of the Duke d'Enguien's army, being reduced to 5000 men, by the battle of Fribourg, were scarce sufficient to guard so large a circumvallation ; but nevertheless, they not only did it, but likewise furnished men to carry on all the works of the siege, which were continued without interruption. The second night, they carried forward the trenches on the Marshal de Gramont's side, and finished the redoubt : the two following nights they advanced much further, and raised a battery of six canon.

The attack  
on the side  
of the Vis-  
count de Tu-  
renne.


Neither did the Viscount de Turenne make less dispatch. The fifth night the two attacks made their lodgments on the counterscarp, which the workmen began to pierce, at the same time that batteries were

were raised to ruin the defences of the place. After some days resistance, they passed the ditch, and made a bridge of fascines quite to the *berm*. Bamberg then plainly saw it was out of his power to prevent the filling up of the ditch; and, as his garrison was too weak, he thought it adviseable not to wait till the miners were set to work, hoping to obtain the better capitulation: he beat the chamade, hostages were given on both sides, and the garrison marched out the twelfth of September, with two pieces of canon.

After the Duke d'Enguien had taken possession of this place, he was informed that Count Merci approached. The French army weakened and fatigued, was not in a condition to fight; besides, it was necessary to repair the breaches which the canon had made at Philipsbourg: the Prince therefore did not think proper to remove to a distance, but only chose his quarters along the Rhine so well, that the enemy could not suddenly deprive him of his conquest, or force him to a general battle. He had the river on one side, Philipsbourg on the other, the fort of the Rhine before, and the marshes and woods behind him. When he was encamped in this advantageous post, he ordered the Viscount de Turenne to go and attack Wormes. Duke Charles of Lorraine, to whom this city had been given, had a garrison here, and since the loss of his dominions, had scarce any other retreat. The Viscount marched through the Palatinate, with all the German horse, and 500 foot, detached Flekstein with three regiments, to intercept 500 horse which Colonel Savari wanted to throw into Frankendal, and continued his march towards Wormes, whose inhabitants drove out the Lorrainers, and opened their gates to him. From thence the Viscount advanced towards Mentz, and sent Rosen to seize Oppenheim, which surrendered without resistance, though it had a very good castle to defend it. Mentz was the most considerable post

An. 1644.  
The Viscount de Turenne goes to attack Wormes, Oppenheim, and Mentz, which surrender.

of

An. 1644  of any on the Rhine, on account of its communication with the country of Hesse, and its situation over-against the mouth of the Mein, which runs at the foot of a part of its walls. Its strength consisted rather in the number of its inhabitants, than in its citadel, whose fortifications were neglected. The Elector, not thinking himself safe there, had retired to Hermesheim, and the Canons, in the absence of the Archbishop, had the government in their hands. The Viscount marched day and night without baggage, to prevent the enemy's throwing any succours into Mentz, which had no other garrison but some soldiers maintained by the Chapter. When he drew near the city, he was informed that there were, on the other side of the Rhine, 1000 dragoons of the Bavarian army, commanded by Colonel Wolfs, who were demanding boats to convey them into it: he therefore threatened to attack the place on all sides, if they did not immediately order the Bavarian troops to retire. The Canons instantly obeyed, made the Bavarian dragoons draw off, and sent deputies to the camp to capitulate. The Viscount immediately sent advice of this to the Duke d'Enguien, who came from Philippsbourg, with a guard of 400 horse, reached Mentz in a day and an half, and signed the capitulation: the Chapter also obliged themselves to march out the garrison they had in Bingen, and receive French troops there. The Prince left a garrison of 400 men in Mentz, with all things necessary for repairing the old fortifications, and making new ones; and being desirous to possess himself of all the Palatinate on this side the Rhine, before he finished the campaign, he detached the Marquiss d'Aumont, to invest Landau, with 1200 foot, and 1500 horse.

The Vis-  
count takes  
Landau.

This city, which stood in a plain, was then only fortified with a wall flanked with towers, with half-moons, a good ditch, and a covered way: it was defended



defended by 400 of the Lorrain troops. Whilst d'Aumont was taking up his quarters, and beginning his works before Landau, the Duke d'Enguien returned to his army at Philippsbourg, that he might be nearer the siege he had ordered. Upon his arrival he was informed that the trenches were already opened, but that d'Aumont had been dangerously wounded. The Viscount went to continue the siege, and carried on his trenches with so much diligence, that in three days he made a lodgement, and raised a battery on the counterscarp: on the fifth day the Lorrainers treated with the Viscount, and marched out of the place. After Landau was taken, Mannheim, Neustadt, and several other places, made but little resistance: and thus the Duke d'Enguien was, in one campaign, three times victorious over the Bavarian army, and became master of the Palatinate, the course of the Rhine, from Strasburg to Hermensheim near Coblenz, and all the country between the Rhine and the Moselle.

All the troops assembled at Philippsbourg, and the Prince set out for France about the end of October, with his army; he left only some new regiments of foot with the Viscount, who staid to command alone in Germany. As soon as the Duke d'Enguien was gone, General Merci, who had had time to recruit his army in the country of Wirtemberg, drew near the Rhine, and encamped between Heidelberg and Mannheim: he fell on the latter, and when he had seized it, he made as if he designed to build a bridge there, and pass the river with his troops, in hopes thereby to induce the King's army to cover Spire, Wormes and Mentz, which it could not do without unguarding Philippsbourg, which he intended to recover. The Viscount repassed the Rhine with all his cavalry and some foot, marched to Spire, and immediately sent 1000 horse to secure Wormes and Mentz. A little time after the Viscount

*The Duke d'Enguien returns to France, and leaves the Viscount de Turenne to command in Germany.*

An. 1644. count was informed, that the Duke of Lorrain had passed the Moselle, and invested Castelaun and Simmeren, two little places in the Hundsruck. It was to be feared that either the Duke would join Merci, and that the two Generals, when united, would come and overwhelm him all at once, or else, that if they acted separately, one of them would surprize him, whilst he was guarding against the attacks of the other. In this situation the Viscount sent to Court to demand a reinforcement; but was answered, that the troops were wanted elsewhere, and that he must defend himself as well as he could, which was all that was expected from him. Having then no farther hopes of succours, he was forced to make up for his want of strength by stratagem, and by his extraordinary activity to multiply himself, as it were, that he might make head on all sides.

The Viscount saves Spire, and prevents the taking of Baccarach.

The Bavarians having formed a secret correspondence with some in Spire, detached 1200 musketeers in boats from Mannheim, up the Rhine, hoping to get them admitted into the town. But the Viscount, who discovered their design, lined the banks of the river with infantry, hindred the boats from passing, and saved Spire. At the same time the Duke of Lorrain besieged Baccarach, a place in the Palatinate, situated on the Rhine: Turenne took only 500 men with him, advanced near Bingen, and sent from thence to mark out a camp near Baccarach, and get ready provisions there: The Lorrainers thinking he was coming against them with a large body of troops, raised the siege with precipitation, and retired beyond the Moselle.

He seizes the strong Castle of Creutznach.


The only considerable place on the banks of the Rhine, of which the Viscount was not now master, was the Castle of Creutznach, which was an important post: he attacked it in the beginning of December; and the garrison of 200 men which the Bavarians

varians had left in it, after a defence of fifteen or sixteen days, surrendered. Then the Viscount, who had nothing more to fear, after he had reinforced the garrisons of all the towns newly conquered on the Rhine, sent the rest of his cavalry into winter quarters in Alsace and Lorrain, being persuaded, that the want of forage would hinder General Merci from coming a second time into a country which was so entirely ruined, that there was scarce provender enough to be found for a single horse. He placed himself in such a manner between the enemies two Generals, that they could not join again all the rest of the winter ; and in order to watch them the more narrowly, he, instead of going to Court, retired to Spires. If it be glorious to conquer a great extent of country with a few troops, it is perhaps more so, to know how to preserve those conquests with much fewer : and this is what the Viscount did. He lost only Manheim, and made himself amends by taking Creutznach. His knowledge of the country, his judicious choice of advantageous posts, and his happy distribution of his troops, supplied the place of numbers : so that, like his master Weymar, *he did every thing with nothing.*

In the beginning of the year 1645, the Bavarian army was considerably diminished, by General Merci's having sent 4000 men to the assistance of the Imperialists, whom the Swedes had defeated at Tabor in Bohemia. The Viscount de Turenne, who was informed of it, took the field early. In the beginning of March he assembled his army, which he had found means to recruit, without any assistance from the Court. He left Spires where he had spent the winter, crossed the Rhine on a bridge of boats, and marched with 5000 horse, 6000 foot, and fifteen pieces of canon, towards Phortzeim, a little town in the country of Wirtemberg on the river Entz, seven leagues from the Neckar. Merci was

H

encamped

An. 1644.  


An. 1645.  
 The Viscount passes the Rhine and the Neckar, and pursues Merci.

An. 1645. encamped on the other side the Entz, and had only between 6 and 7000 men: the rest of his troops were dispersed in distant quarters, till the season should furnish them with greater plenty of forage. The Viscount having passed the river without opposition, two leagues below the enemy, General Merci did not think it proper to fight, but retired towards Suabia. The Viscount pursued him, seized Stutgard, the capital of the Dutchy of Wirtemberg, passed near Hailbron, and arrived with his dragoons at Suabeschall, or Hall in Suabia, where he found the quarter-masters of the Bavarian army ready to enter the city. The burghers opened their gates to the Viscount, and Merci thinking that all the French army was at Hall, made halte to gain Dinkespuhel and Feuchtwang in Franconia. The Viscount left his dragoons at Hall, and with his cavalry which had joined him, pursued the Bavarian General five or six leagues; afterwards he returned to Hall, continued there three days to refresh his troops, then advanced towards the river of Tauber in Franconia, and there took Mariendal and Rottembourg, whilst the enemy divided themselves to go into the Upper Palatinate. Thus, with an army of 11,000 men, he preserved all the places he had conquered, and took four more very considerable ones; from which he made incursions to the very gates of Wurtzburg and Nuremburg, which he put under contribution.

He advances  
as far as into  
Franconia,  
and takes up  
his quarters  
at Marien-  
dal.

He thought Mariendal the most proper place for his general quarters; it was surrounded by several small towns, from whence he might draw subsistence, and it bordered on the dominions of the Landgraves of Hesse, a Princess in alliance with France and Sweden, against the house of Austria; and the junction of her army with his, the Viscount hoped would supply the place of the reinforcement he had in vain desired of the Cardinal. While he waited for this junction, he thought proper to repose his troops



troops at Mariendal, they being fatigued with so many motions and different marches. As there was yet no grass on the ground, the officers were for suffering the cavalry to disperse themselves in the small towns round about, where they might find forage and subsist more commodiously ; but the Viscount refused it at first, lest the enemy should return and attack his quarters when they should be thus separated. He continually represented to the officers, that they were in a country whose inhabitants they ought to look upon as enemies ; that he might be deceived by the spies, who were naturally better affected to their own nation than to foreigners who came to ruin them ; that the enemy's army, which had marched towards Bavaria with so much precipitation, would there find quite fresh troops ; that having the ways open, they might return and surprise him ; that it was much safer to keep the army together, and that he thought he should only send out large detachments to seek forage in the neighbourhood. The officers answered, that this would be a new way of completing the ruin of both men and horses ; that many of their troopers were dismounted ; that they should find horses to be bought in the different places whither they should go ; that the enemy were at least sixteen leagues off, and could not approach them without their knowledge. Major General Rosen joined with the officers, and earnestly pressed him to hearken to their advice : the Marshal de Turenne still opposed it ; but at last, his fear of making the cavalry suffer too much, his desire of having it speedily put again into good condition, and the distance of the enemy, determined him to give way to these earnest solicitations. Nevertheless, that he might not be exposed to a surprise from the Bavarians, or hazard any thing without first taking all imaginable precautions, he sent out some officers, with several detachments of horse

An. 1645. different ways, to discover what the enemy were doing. All these parties brought accounts that the Bavarians were separated, and fortifying themselves in the different places where they were in quarters : but notwithstanding all these reports, he was still apprehensive of some unlucky accident, kept his canon and infantry with him, recalled Rosen from Rottembourg with his troops, and would not suffer his cavalry to go above three Leagues from Mariendal, which he had made his general quarters. Only he sent two regiments very far, one towards Bavaria to watch the motions of Merci's army ; and the other into Franconia, to observe what the garrisons of that Circle might be doing.

General  
Merci sur-  
prises the  
Viscount.

But scarce was his army thus divided, before he reproached himself for it : he condemned his too great complaisance for his officers ; and was sensible that he ought to have doubted of the intelligence that had been brought him. In order therefore to be ascertained of the true state of things by his own observation, he the next day took the great guard of his quarters, and advanced three leagues from Mariendal, on the road by which the enemy might come and attack him. He returned very late, and on the second of May, at two in the morning, a party whom he had sent towards Feuchtwang brought him intelligence, that Merci was advancing very fast with all his army. Then he instantly sent orders to all his quarters to repair to Herbsthausen, a village where the great guard was, a league and a half from Mariendal, and the centre of his quarters ; and ordered General Rosen to go thither, to receive the troops as fast as they should arrive. The disposition of the places was very favourable, if Rosen had taken advantage of it : there was at the head of the great guard a wood of between five and six hundred paces long, and beyond it a fine plain, over which the Bavarians must pass in order to come at the

I

French.

French. Rosen ought therefore to have staid on this side the wood, and stopped up the entrance into it with some battalions to hinder the enemy from perceiving that the army was not yet assembled : but not believing Merci to be so near, he passed through the wood, and was beginning to draw up his regiments in the plain, when the Viscount arrived and saw the false step he had taken. He was going to remedy it, and to order the troops to repass the wood ; but that instant discovering the vanguard of the Bavarians, who were with a wide front coming out of another wood a quarter of a league from him, he found he had not time to change his posture, and immediately took his measures. There were but 3000 of his foot yet arrived in the plain, and seven or eight regiments of horse. Turenne took all the advantages he could of the ground : in a little neighbouring wood, he placed his infantry, which he made his right wing, and posted two squadrons behind to support them ; and composed his left wing of all the rest of his cavalry, which he drew up in one line, except only two squadrons, which doubled it on the side of the great wood. Rosen placed himself at the extremity of this line to the right, and the Viscount at the extremity to the left ; and in this order they waited for the enemy.

General Merci soon extended himself in the plain, drew up his army in battalia, placed his infantry in the centre, and his cavalry in the two wings. After he had canonaded the French for some time, seeing that his artillery did no great execution, and that fresh troops every moment arrived, which might in the end make their army equal to his own, he put himself at the head of his infantry, and advanced to attack the little wood, which he must absolutely make himself master of, in order to bring his left wing, commanded by General John de Vert, into action. The Viscount at the same time marched

The Battle  
of Marier-  
dal.

An. 1641. with his cavalry against the right wing of the enemy, broke it, seized the canon, took twelve standards, made several prisoners, and penetrated to the second line, which he shook. But the 3000 foot commanded by M. de Smitberd and M. du Passage\*, behaved themselves very differently: whilst the Viscount was charging the right of the enemy with so much success, the French infantry perceiving that that of the Bavarians, which was marching up to them, was much superior in number, gave way to their fears, and both they and the two squadrons which were to have supported them, dispersed themselves in the wood. John de Vert taking advantage of this disorder, advanced with all his left wing, and began to form behind the victorious wing of Turenne, in order to attack him in the rear. The Viscount having observed this motion, and perceiving that he was like to be surrounded, ordered his cavalry to wheel about and retire. He himself crossed the great wood with only two or three officers, and beyond it found the three regiments of horse of Duras, Beauvau and Tracy, which were just arrived. These regiments were joined in a little time by twelve or fifteen hundred of the horse which had been in the engagement: the Viscount drew them up in battalia, and resolved to attack the enemy again in case they passed the wood to pursue him; but the Bavarians astonished at his resolution durst go no further.

The Viscount's fine retreat.

Then Turenne turned his thoughts to make a retreat, which did him as much honour as a victory. He sent Beauregard Chabry to rally his infantry, march them directly to Philipsburg without stopping, and from thence to bring them to him into the Landgravate of Hesse, whither he resolved to go with his cavalry. At the same time, he ordered the † Marquis de Beauvau to take together with his own

\* See Turenne's Memoirs, p. 22.

† Charles de Beauvau d'Espence, Lord of Noir-Lieu.]

regiment



regiment all the German horse that remained after the battle, and lead them from Mariendal towards the Mein, and from thence to the frontiers of the country of Hesse. He continued with the two regiments of Duras and Tracy to cover the retreat, and give the rest of his troops, which came from more distant quarters, time to repass the Tauber. Then he retired in pretty good order along that river, always harrassed, often obliged so to divide his troops on account of the difficulties of the ways, that sometimes he had not above twenty horsemen with him : nevertheless, he rallied all those that were straggling to the right and left ; often turned about to repulse the Bavarians, made head against them at all the defiles, crossed the Mein, and at last gained the frontiers of Hesse, where he joined the rest of his army, after having lost great part of his infantry, 1200 horse, and all his canon and baggage.

Such was the defeat of Mariendal, which was the first the Viscount had received since he commanded in chief. The enemies to his glory much blamed his conduct : but they who judged without prejudice and with understanding, commended every step he had taken : the presence of mind with which he went to meet the Bavarians, without suffering them to attack his quarters one by one ; the address he shewed in endeavouring to recover Major General Rosen's false step, and the prudence with which he chose to retreat into the centre of Germany, rather than bring his army under the canon of Philipsburg, in which case the enemy might have followed him, retaken all the cities he had conquered, and forced him to quit Alsace : whereas his design in retiring into Hesse, was to secure his conquests on the Rhine, to strengthen his army with the union of the Hessian troops, and with these succours to put an happy end to a campaign which had so unfortunate a beginning.

An examination and justification of the Viscount's conduct at the defeat of Mariendal.

An. 1645.

The junction of the French, Hessian and Swedish troops.

The Landgraveſs of Heſſe, of the houſe of Hanau \* couſin german to the Viſcount de Turenne, had always adhered to her alliance with the King. She had, together with all the virtues of her ſex, the talents of a great commander: ſhe could not, in decency, put herſelf at the head of her armies, but ſhe commanded them in the cabinet. This Princeſs was liberal but with œconomy, juſt as well as generous, religious without ſuperſtition, a ſovereign miſtreſs of all political knowledge, and her Court was the ſchool of all the Princes in Germany. The French troops were no ſooner arrived in her country, than General

May 29. Merciwent to beſiege Kirchain, a city ſituated at the entrance into Heſſe. The Viſcount had no more than between 3 and 4000 horſe and 1500 foot: the Landgraveſs was obliged to draw her troops out of their quarters, to go and relieve the place. The Viſcount likewiſe prevailed on the Count de Konigsmark, the General of the Swedes, who wintered in the Dutchy of Brunſwick, to join 4000 of his troops to the 6000 the Landgraveſs ſent under the command of General Geiſ. At the head of this army, conſiſting of between 14 and 15,000 men, the Viſcount de Turenne advanced towards Kirchain: General Merciw immediately retired from before the place, and made haſte to Franconia. The ſoldiers preſſed the Viſcount to lead them thither; they were very deſirous of wiping off the ſhame of the battle of Mariendal, acknowledging that their General's too great goodneſs had been the cauſe of that diſgrace: but when he was going to take advantage of their ardour, he received orders from Court, not to undertake any thing before the arrival of the Duke d'Enguien. When he had wanted troops before the battle of Mariendal, they were reſuſed him; now that he had

\* Amelia-Elizabeth of Hanau, Daughter of Philip-Louis Earl of Hanau Muntzenberg, and of Catharine Belgique of Naſſau, daughter of William the firſt, Prince of Orange.

got a reinforcement from the allies, a Commander An. 1645. was again to be put over him, whose views he must be obliged to follow, how contrary soever to his own. Thus the ill-will of the Minister put his virtue to the severest trials: after he had exposed him to danger for want of succours, he now sought to rob him of the glory of his successes, by giving him a rival: but the Viscount sacrificed his resentments to the love of his country; and though he knew that the King, who was yet a minor, could have no share in Mazarin's resolutions, he obeyed the orders of the Court without murmuring.

The Elector of Bavaria, elated with the defeat of the French at Mariendal, offered proposals for peace which were little for the honour of France. The Court, desirous to check his confidence as soon as possible, sent 8000 men into Germany, under the command of the Duke d'Enguien, who had the Marshal de Gramont for his Lieutenant General. The Viscount de Turenne led his own troops and those of the allies to meet this reinforcement, repassed the Mein, crossed the country of Darmstadt, took the city of Weinheim which was in his way, and arrived at Spire, where the two armies joined on the second of July. The Duke had long conferences with the Generals Turenne, Gramont, Geis and Konigsmark, concerning the most advantageous steps to be taken by the allies. The Bavarians, who had been reinforced with 4000 Imperialists under the command of General Gleen, were encamped in places very difficult of access, and the Duke d'Enguien, who was always fond of great exploits, was for drawing them into the open country, in order to bring them to a decisive battle.

With this view, he resolved to march his army near Hailbron, a city situated on the Neckar, and thought the bulwark of Suabia. The Bavarians, knowing the importance of this place, marched with all

The Duke d'Enguien comes a second time into Germany to join the Viscount.  
The Duke d'Enguien passes the Neckar, takes Wimpfen, and the Bavarians retire into Franconia.

An. 1645. all diligence to relieve it, prevented the Duke d'Enguieu, and encamped on the eminences near that city, on the other side the Neckar. This advantageous encampment diverted the Duke d'Enguieu from his first design, and led him to think of seizing Wimphen, which is two leagues below Hailbron, on this side of the Neckar. The Bavarians could not hinder the siege without passing the river, it being as difficult for them to relieve Wimphen, as for the French to invest Hailbron. In order \* to take the former by assault, the Marshal de Gramont marched thither with a great detachment drawn out of the four bodies of which the army consisted, viz. the Hessians, Swedes, Weymarians, and French: he attacked it, planted his canon without opening trenches, made himself master of the city, and made a bridge over the Neckar. Then the Confederates passed that river, and General Merci retired to Feuchtwang in Franconia, above twenty leagues from thence.

The Swedes  
separate from  
the King's  
army.

Immediately after they had passed the Neckar, General Konigsmark and General Geis, upon some groundless offence taken at the Duke d'Enguieu's conduct, declared that they would quit the army and lead home their troops. It was a matter of great moment to the King's service to prevent this separation, of which Merci would not have failed to take advantage. The Viscount de Turenne, who had a peculiar talent for managing men and calming their passions, spoke to the two Generals with his usual sweetness and mildness, and he prevailed with Geis to stay; but nothing he could say was able to restrain the impetuosity of Konigsmark †: he was a man brought up in war, endowed with great military talents, and accustomed to considerable commands; add to this, that he was selfish, vain, and hard to

\* Mem. de Siri, tom. V. part. 2. page 253.

† See the Viscount's Memoirs, pag. 26.



please. The Viscount's endeavours to get the better of his obstinacy were therefore fruitless; nothing could stop him; he went away in a passion, and mounting a foot soldier behind each of his troopers, retired to Bremen in Lower Saxony. The Duke d'Enguien, to shew him that he did not want him, sent publickly to wish him a good journey.

The French army after this separation, marched with the Hessians towards the Tauber, and seized all the cities they found in their way. The enemy made no resistance but at Rottembourg, which was attacked and carried in one night, and the troops were much refreshed with the great quantity of provisions which they found there. Then the Duke marched directly to the city of Dinckespuhel, and opened trenches before it; but having received intelligence in the evening, that the Bavarians were advancing towards Nordlinguen, he raised the siege and resolved to force the enemy to come to a battle. He marched his troops all night, cross a wood where the road was wide enough for two squadrons to march abreast. At the same time, the Generals Merci, Gleen, and John de Vert, marched through the same wood at some distance, with a body of cavalry; and at break of day, they saw the French coming out of the wood. As the ground was very favourable for them, they drew up their army in battalia, and there waited for the Duke d'Enguien. They had a river before them and great pools to the right and left; their post inaccessible otherwise than by narrow paths, in which scarce two horsemen could march abreast. The Duke brought forward his canon, as the Bavarians did theirs to the head of their camp; and they canonaded one another all the day, with pretty equal loss on both sides. The Prince seeing that it was impossible to give the enemy battle in this place, and that it was in vain to persist, decamped the night following

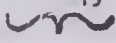
An. 1645.

The Duke d'Enguien passes the Tauber, takes several cities, and draws near to Nordlinguen.

An. 1645. ing two hours before day, in order to go to Nordlinguen. By nine in the morning, he came into the great plain which is before that city; and at noon was informed that General Merci had already chosen a very advantageous post for a camp two leagues from him; that his men were at work in all haste on his trenches, and that he intended to dispute the taking of Nordlinguen, in which was a weak garrison. Immediately thereafter, the Prince marched to the enemy, leaving his baggage behind him in the neighbouring villages, and at four in the afternoon, the two armies were in sight of each other.

The situation of the Bavarian camp at Nordlinguen.

About the middle of the plain of Nordlinguen, which is very large, there is a valley of a moderate extent, formed by two little hills, a quarter of a league from each other. At the end of this valley, is a village called Allerheim, which is about three hundred paces nearer to Nordlinguen than the two hills. One of these called The hill of Wineberg is very high, and stands on the left of the village as you come from Nordlinguen. The other, on which is the castle of Allerheim, is on the right. The land which lies between the hill of Allerheim and the village, is as level as a plain, but is divided by a ditch: that at the foot of the hill of Wineberg slopes to the village of that name with a descent which is scarce perceptible. The right wing of the enemy, commanded by General Gleen, reached to the top of the hill of Wineberg; and their left, under General John de Vert, to the summit of the other hill, on which is the castle of Allerheim. The centre of their army, where Merci was posted, took up the valley, and had the village before it: his two wings consisted of all his cavalry, and some battalions which he had posted at the extremities upon the hills: all the rest of the infantry formed the main body. He had thrown some foot into the village, and put a guard of musqueteers in the church steeple

steeple and churchyard which was walled in : his An. 1645- trenches on the two hills were lined with canon.  His army consisted of between 14 and 15,000 men ; and that of the Duke d'Enguien amounted to 17,000. When all things had been examined in a Council of war, the Viscount de Turenne was of opinion, that they could not come to a general action with an enemy so posted and entrenched, without exposing the French army to an almost certain defeat : the Duke d'Enguien thought otherwise, and his opinion prevailed over that of the Viscount. After this there was some dispute about the manner of attacking. Turenne thought they could not march to the enemy's two wings with the cavalry, without warmly attacking their infantry which was in the centre, at the same time ; this advice was followed ; and it was agreed, that the two wings must halt, whilst the infantry endeavoured to gain the village. This resolution being taken, the French army advanced towards the enemy in this order.

The Marshal de Gramont commanded the right wing, consisting of all the French cavalry, to the number of ten squadrons ; the Viscount de Turenne led on the left, in which were the Weymarian cavalry, consisting of twelve squadrons, supported by the Hessian army of six battalions and six squadrons, which made the second line. The Count de Marfin was at the head of the main body, consisting of ten battalions, and supported by five squadrons of gendarmes and carabineers. The corps de reserve, of four battalions and six squadrons, which were as a second line to the right wing, was commanded by the Chevalier de Chabot. The Duke d'Enguien, who thus disposed of these posts, resolved to be every where, and therefore chose none for himself. By this disposition, the right wing of the Marshal de Gramont faced the Bavarians commanded by John de Vert ; and the left wing of the Viscount de Turenne,

The disposition of the French army when they attacked Merzi's camp.

An. 1645. renne, the Imperialists under General Gleen. The French troops, though they were to engage with well disciplined troops, shewed a great ardour for fighting, in order to wipe off the disgrace they had lately suffered at Mariendal.

General  
Merci is killed.

It was five in the afternoon when the Duke d'Enguien began the battle with canonading the village : but the enemy's artillery which was fixed, had a great advantage over his, which was continually shifting place in order to advance, and as he saw that this was losing a great deal of time, he ordered some battalions commanded by the Count de Marfin, to attack the village. The first lines were soon forced ; but as they drew near to the houses, the enemy who had there posted themselves and made holes in them, fired so furiously, that the French stopped all on a sudden, and soon afterwards gave way and fled. The Count de Marfin having been dangerously wounded, the Duke d'Enguien sent the Marquis de la Moussaye to supply his place with a reinforcement of some regiments : but neither could they stand the fire of the enemy. Then the Duke d'Enguien himself led up all the King's infantry to the charge. General Merci, when he saw this motion, could not suppress the joy which his hopes gave him, but cried out with vehemence, *God has turned the heads of the French, they'll soon be routed.* He put himself at the head of his main body, and advanced towards the village. The battle was bloody and obstinate, the Duke d'Enguien's cloaths were shot through in many places ; he had two horses wounded under him, and received a contusion in his thigh. It was in vain to intreat him to retire ; he kept in the midst of the fire, animating the troops with his voice and gestures. Merci, after he had done wonders, could not escape his fate : he was killed by a musket-ball. The death of this great General was so far from discouraging his soldiers, that it rendered



rendered them furious; a spirit of revenge made them surmount all difficulties; and the intrepidity of the Duke d'Enguien, surprizing as it was, could not prevent the greatest part of his infantry's being cut in pieces.

On another side, the left wing of the Bavarians fell on the right of the French with such violence, that the French cavalry, after it had stood some time, was entirely broken and routed. The Marshal de Gramont did all that valour and conduct could do, to stop, rally, and lead back his troops to the battle: when he saw that all his efforts were in vain, he put himself at the head of the regiments of Faber and Wall, which had not left their posts; he waited for the Bavarians without stirring, and caused a terrible discharge on their squadrons. He even opened and broke into them; but advanced so far, that he was surrounded by the enemy, and being forced to give way to numbers, was taken prisoner. After this general rout in the right, John de Vert fell on the troops of reserve, beat the Chevalier de Chabot, and penetrated to the baggage, which was plundered. But this German † General discovered more of the bravery of a soldier, than of the conduct of an officer, on this occasion: instead of bringing back his victorious troops to surround the left wing of the French army, he inconsiderately suffered his heat to carry him too far in pursuing the fugitives.

At the same time the Viscount de Turenne marched up to the right wing of the enemy, which was posted on the hill of Wineberg. He bore the continual fire of their artillery, without stopping, had a horse wounded under him, received a shot in his cuirasse, and at length arrived in good order at the top of the hill. The fight was terrible between these two

An. 1645.  
The right wing of the French is defeated, and the Marshal de Gramont taken prisoner.

The Viscount de Turenne defeats the right wing of the Bavarians, and takes General Gleen prisoner.

† Mem. de Siri. *Ibid.*

An. 1645. wings of Weymarians and Hessians on one side, and of Imperialists and Bavarians on the other. The valour of these two German bodies, which fought with so much fury, seemed now to eclipse the glory of the French, who had suffered themselves to be beaten every where. They made several repeated discharges with their musketry, and at last came to their pistols and swords: The Viscount de Turenne, after he had several times attacked the Imperialists, who still kept their ground, at last broke their first line: but General Gleen having brought up the second, put the Viscount's first squadrons into some disorder, without entirely breaking them. Then the Duke d'Enguien, knowing that nothing now was to be done, either in the right wing or the main body, where there was a general rout, came to the left wing, and put himself at the head of the Hessian troops which were in the Viscount's second line. Turenne immediately broke the enemy's squadrons which were on the hill, defeated the infantry he found there, seized the canon of the Imperialists, pointed them against the rest of their right wing, which reached to the village. He took the Bavarians in flank, fired upon them without intermission, obliged them to retire 500 paces beyond the village, and took General Gleen prisoner. The regiments which were posted in the church and church-yard, seeing themselves ready to be hemmed in, surrendered at discretion. As soon as John de Vert was informed of what passed on the hill of Wineberg, he hastened thither with his victorious wing; but it was too late; he had let slip the critical minute, found all in confusion, and night was come on.

The retreat  
of the Bava-  
rians, and  
the Vis-  
count's pur-  
suit.

At one in the morning, the enemy's troops began to retire, and by break of day not one of them was to be seen. John de Vert, the only General they had left, had taken advantage of the darkness


of

of the night, to reach Donawert, and escape with the remains of the army to the other side of the Danube : *An. 1645.*  
 The Viscount de Turenne pursued him to the banks of the river with 3000 horse, and did not return till he had seen him pass it with all his troops. Three or four thousand of the French infantry had been killed in the action, and the loss of the allies was greater than that of the Imperialists. The Marshal de Gramont was taken on one side, and General Gleen on the other : but the Duke d'Enguien remained master of the field of battle, and had taken a great number of officers, many standards, and all the canon of the enemy. Nevertheless, the victory cost the French so dear, that for some days they could not get together above twelve or fifteen hundred of all their infantry. In the mean time, Christina Queen of Sweden wrote a letter, with her own hand, to the Duke d'Enguien, to testify her joy, at his having by his victory wiped off the disgrace the \* Swedes had formerly suffered in the same place. Though the Duke d'Enguien had given signal proofs of his courage in this battle, he generously acknowledged, in a letter he wrote to the Queen, that the greatest part of the victory was due to the valour and conduct of the Viscount de Turenne.

After the retreat of the enemy's army, the cities of Nordlinguen and Dinkespuhel opened their gates : and the Duke d'Enguien having fallen sick, returned immediately to France, leaving the army under the command of the Marshal de Turenne and the Marshal de Gramont, who had been exchanged for General Gleen. The French Generals, resolving to go into Swabia to refresh their troops there, and give them time to recover from their fatigue, marched by the country of Hohenloe to Hall, where there was plenty of forage, and tarried there ten or twelve days. The enemy repassed the Danube, encamped within five or six leagues of the French ; and both

*The Duke d'Enguien leaves the army, and returns to France.*

\* In the year 1634.

An. 1645. armies continued in this posture till the seventeenth  
 of October.

The Arch-  
 duke Leo-  
 pold joins  
 the Bavari-  
 ans.

The Duke of Bavaria, seeing that the French army was still advancing farther into Germany, and fearing lest they should seize, not only his winter quarters, but his whole country, demanded succours of the Emperor, and threatened to make a separate treaty with France, if he did not immediately send him a considerable reinforcement. The Emperor, who had just made peace with Prince Ragotski, and no longer wanted his troops in Hungary, sent into Bavaria a great body of horse and dragoons, under the command of the Archduke Leopold his son, who was accompanied by General Galas: as the Archduke had no infantry, he soon joined the Generals Gleen and John de Vert; and supported by these three great officers, marched with all diligence to surprize the French army. The Marshals de Turenne and Gramont, whose troops were not half so many in number as the enemy, resolved to retire, swam cross the Neckar, every horseman carrying a foot soldier behind him, made all haste to the Rhine, and did not think their army safe till it was under the canon of Philipsbourg. They sent to Spires for boats to make a bridge over the Rhine: but very few were arrived, before the Archduke Leopold came up and encamped within  
 October 13. half a league of Philipsbourg. Turenne and Gramont immediately brought their troops together in the space between the city and the Rhine, encamped there, and sent their baggage over the river, in sight of the enemy. The Marshal de Gramont likewise passed the river with the Duke d'Enguien's army, and all the Viscount de Turenne's cavalry, which he led to Landau: the Viscount alone continued encamped under the canon of Philipsbourg with his infantry. The Archduke and the three Generals spent two whole days in examining his camp, and found it so fortified,



fied, that notwithstanding the superiority of their troops, they durst not attack him : they immediately turned about, and marched to Vimpfen, which they besieged in form. All the great canon of the French army was in this place, the Viscount de Turenne was very desirous of relieving it, and sent for his cavalry, which the Marshal de Gramont had conducted to Landau : the French came, but the Germans refused to follow him : Vimpfen was not relieved, and the Archduke made himself master of it in eight days. After this he seized Dinkespuhel, Nordlinguen, and the cities that had been taken between the Neckar and the Danube : all the conquests the French had just made were lost, and nothing was left but the bare remembrance of them. The Archduke marched from thence towards Bohemia, to oppose Torstenson, who made great ravages in the hereditary countries of the house of Austria.

When the armies of the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria were thus separated, the Marshal de Gramont returned to France, with that of the Duke d'Enguien, and the Viscount de Turenne continued alone with his on the Rhine. Many were impatient to see, how he would treat the German cavalry, whose disobedience had caused the loss of Vimpfen. As all were equally guilty, he was with reason afraid of inflicting a general punishment, which almost always produces a revolt ; and found means to make them sensible of their fault, and bring them back to their duty without severity ; besides, as he wanted their assistance in a great enterprize which he had in view, he thought his indulgence would make them think themselves obliged in honour to take the first opportunity of expiating their late crime ; and he judged rightly : his clemency had all the effect he had proposed, or could expect from it.

The Imperial army separates from that of Bavaria, and the Marshal de Gramont leads back the Duke d'Enguien's army into France.

An. 1645.

The Vis-  
count re-  
stores the  
Elector of  
Triers to his  
dominions.

The enterprize with which he hoped to put a glorious end to a campaign which had hitherto been doubtful, was the restoration of the Elector of Triers. This Prince had now been deprived of his dominions twelve years, on account of his alliance with France. The Duke de Longueville, Plenipotentiary at Munster, had declared, at the opening of the Congress, that since the war had been declared on account of this Elector, no proposals for peace would be hearkened to, till that Prince was entirely set at liberty. Upon this the Elector was let out of prison, but his dominions were not restored him. The Viscount de Turenne thought that nothing would do more honour to the Regency, than the restoration of so faithful an ally. Though he was at above forty leagues distance from Triers, he marched, in a very hard frost, towards that city, the Spanish garrison of which, he understood, was not numerous: he left some troops to guard the passes of the Rhine, and the baggage of the army, and took with him only a very small body of infantry, for the greater expedition, depending on some battalions of the Duke d'Enguien's army, which, with the leave of the Court, came from Metz, from whence he likewise conveyed some canon down the Moselle. He took possession of all the places by which the city could be relieved, and invested it on the fourteenth day of November. Upon information that the enemy were assembling together to raise the siege, he ordered Colonel Schutz to cross the Moselle, and meet them with the Germans who were desirous of making amends for their fault: Schutz entirely dispersed them, and would have cut them in pieces, if they had not saved themselves in the woods, with which the country is covered. The Governor of Triers, when all hopes of succours were lost, demanded to capitulate, and on the twentieth of November surrendered.

Nov. 14.

Nov. 20.

The

The restoration of the Elector confirmed the allies of France in their attachment to this Crown, deprived the Duke of Lorraine of the winter quarters he had flattered himself with in that Electorate, and made the Moselle a new barrier to France. The Viscount de Turenne, after he had built a fort near the bridge of Triers, and left 500 men there, went to take Oberwesel, a considerable castle, which the enemy still possessed on this side the Rhine, visited all the places on that river and the Moselle, put them in a posture of defence, extended his army along those two rivers, and in the beginning of February set out for the Court, where he was received with all the applauses which so glorious a campaign deserved.

An. 1646.  
The Viscount  
returns to  
Court.

Cardinal Mazarin could no longer avoid doing justice to the merit and abilities of the Viscount; and being willing to acknowledge the services he had done France, offered him the Duchy of Château-Thierry: But as this was one of those estates which the Council had proposed in exchange for Sedan, Turenne thought he could not accept it without prejudice to the Duke of Bouillon his brother; and constantly refusing all the Cardinal's offers, he declared he would accept of nothing till the exchange was compleated. Being little concerned about his own private interest, and wholly intent on what respected the welfare of the State, he was, during his stay at Court, continually representing to this Minister, that no progress would ever be made in Germany, so long as the army of France continued separated from that of Sweden; because, whilst the one was acting on the side of the Rhine, and the other in the hereditary countries of Austria, it was easy for the Imperialists and Bavarians, who were between the two, to march their forces to that side where they should find themselves weakest, and so hinder the gaining any considerable advantage over them.

The Cardinal offers  
him the  
Duchy of  
Château-  
Thierry, but  
he refuses it.

An. 1646. These reasons had their weight with the Cardinal ; the union of the two armies was resolved on ; and it was entirely left to the Viscount to put the grand project in execution.

The negotia-  
tions and dif-  
ficulties at  
the Congress  
of Munster.  
The de-  
mands of  
France.

In the mean time, no progress was made towards a general peace at Munster ; the different pretensions of the powers assembled, daily increased the divisions among them. France demanded of the Emperor, by way of satisfaction, the city of Brisac, with Brisgau, Alsace, and Philipsbourg, and the Bishoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun ; in a word, all she had seized or conquered from the House of Austria, for an hundred years past. Sweden claimed both Pomerania's, the Archbishopric of Bremen, and the Bishopric of Verden ; demanded several millions of crowns to defray the expence of the war ; and insisted, that the Elector Palatine should be restored to his dignity and dominions, and that the Protestants should have the free and publick exercise of their religion allowed them, not only in the hereditary provinces, but throughout all the Empire. The Emperor, who saw that these claims tended to divide the Germanic body, both with regard to religion and its civil constitution, long evaded the demands of the French and Swedes, and tried all sorts of artifices to disunite them : but by the wise conduct of the King's Plenipotentiaries at the Congress, and of the Viscount de Turenne in the army, the interests and councils of the two Crowns continued united, in spite of all the intrigues of the Emperor's Ministers at Munster, and the cabals of the Swedish Generals in their camp.

The preten-  
sions of the  
Electors of  
Branden-  
burg.

The Elector of Brandenburg, the head of the Calvinist party, had a just claim to Pomerania, by virtue of some antient treaties with the Dukes of that country, and opposed the pretensions of the Swedes, who insisted that that Duchy belonged to them by right of conquest. This affair caused long debates,



debates, and was one of the most difficult to adjust: An. 1646. the Ministers of Spain excited the Elector to reject all accommodation, and gave him hopes of assistance from their Master.

The Elector of Bavaria, the head of the Catholic party, the most able and most powerful Prince in all the Empire, had advanced the Emperor near nine millions of crowns, and taken Upper Austria for his security: the Emperor, to set free this important province, and to clear himself without paying any thing, had given that Prince the Upper Palatinate, together with the Electoral Dignity, after he had deprived the Elector Palatine of both. Since the progress of the arms of France and Sweden in Germany, the Emperor was become a feeble support to the Bavarian family, and a bad guarantee for its acquisitions. The Duke found he wanted a more powerful ally, and had recourse to France: under pretence of religion, he sent his Confessor to the Queen Regent, to represent to her, of what consequence it was to the Catholic cause, that the Electoral Dignity should not return to a Protestant Prince, and that the Catholic religion, which had been introduced into the Upper Palatinate, should be preserved there. Cardinal Mazarin heard him favourably, and was sensible of the necessity of supporting the Duke, as well to hinder the destruction of the House of Bavaria, which would put the Swedes into a condition of no longer wanting either troops or subsidies from France, as to prevent the ruin of Religion in the Empire.

The differences between the two Crowns of France and Spain, were still more difficult to be reconciled. The French promised to abandon Catalonia, on condition that Spain would give up to them Roussillon, Artois, and Cambresis. By the addition of these provinces to Alsace, the three Bishoprics and the cities demanded of the Emperor,

The pretensions of the Elector of Bavaria.

The differences between the Crowns of France and Spain.

An. 1646. the frontiers of the kingdom would be extended, and this was compleating the plan of Cardinal Richelieu, which his successor ever had in his view, Whenever Mazarin could not bring the powers of Europe into this, by way of negotiation, he continually started fresh difficulties, in order to retard the peace: nevertheless being always willing to be thought to desire it, he consented that the Plenipotentiaries of the United Provinces should be mediators between France and Spain; but the Dutch soon discovered that Mazarin sought only to gain time, and they declined the mediation. The Count de Pegnaranda, the Spanish Minister, treated privately with them, to induce them to make a separate peace with his Master, unknown to, and exclusive of France. He took them in a conjuncture which was favourable to his design: the Dutch did not much like the character of that Minister, and dreaded the power of the King: if they feared a rupture with so warlike a nation as France, they feared much more to put themselves into the hands of Mazarin.

The general  
Plan of the  
Congress.

Thus were the Catholics treating with the Protestants and endeavouring to unite with them, in order to continue a war, which at first had been wholly undertaken in defence of religion. The Swedes caballed with the Emperor against France their ally: France hearkened to the Duke of Bavaria in order to hinder the Swedes from carrying their conquests too far in Germany: Spain supported the Elector of Brandenburg, the head of the Calvinist league: and the Dutch sought the friendship of the Spaniards, their old enemies. Such a confusion was there of views, interests and intrigues at Munster and Osnaburg. Cardinal Mazarin at Court, and the Viscount de Turenne in the army, took advantage of these different motions for five years together, and artfully made use of them, in order to

to come at last to that very conclusion, at which they had always aimed.

An. 1646.



In the beginning of April, the Viscount de Turenne left the Court, and returned to the Rhine. The Swedes were in Hesse; \* Wrangel commanded them, and had succeeded Torstenſon, who, after he had acquired the reputation of a great commander, was retired to Stockholm, on account of a long indisposition. As soon as Turenne had assembled his army near Mentz, he sent to inform General Wrangel of his design to pass the Rhine at Baccarach, cross the country of Nassau and come to him in Hesse. He was upon the point of setting out when Cardinal Mazarin sent him word, that the Duke of Bavaria had promised the King's Plenipotentiaries at Munster, to keep his army separate from that of the Emperor, provided that of France did not pass the Rhine: that it was the King's pleasure, that the Viscount should abandon all the designs which the French and Swedes were to have put in execution, after their union; and that he should leave Germany, and go and besiege Luxembourg. The Viscount, surprized at this change, plainly saw that the artifices of the Duke of Bavaria were the true causes of it: that he might not disobey so positive orders, he did not pass the Rhine; but being persuaded that the siege of Luxembourg, in this crisis, would utterly ruin the King's affairs in Germany, he found out several pretences for delaying that enterprize. The event justified his conduct, and shewed his great penetration and foresight. Whilst the Duke of Bavaria was amusing the Cardinal with promises, his army still continued upon the march, and at last joined that of the Emperor in Franconia.

The Duke of Bavaria amuses the Cardinal Minister, with intent to hinder the Allies from joining.

\* Charles Gustavus Wrangel, Count of Salmitz, and afterwards Constable and Captain General of Sweden.

An. 1646.

The Vis-  
count com-  
passe it by a  
long and  
painful  
march.

The Imperialists and Bavarians, with all their forces, placed themselves between the French and the Swedes. The bridge of the Rhine at Philipsbourg was become useless, and the Viscount could not go into Hesse through the country of Nassau, which the enemy possessed; and it seemed impossible for him to join the Swedes. Whether the Emperor had gained Wrangel, or the Duke of Bavaria alone had broken all the measures of France, it is certain that a stop was going to be put to all the success of that Crown in Germany, if Turenne had not continually found resources in his own abilities. He instantly resolved what to do, wrote to the Cardinal, and without waiting for an answer, immediately began to put his design in execution. He left part of his infantry at Mentz, marched with the rest, and all his cavalry, towards the Moselle, forded that river six leagues above Coblentz, crossed the Electorate of Cologne, went through the county of Meurs to Rhimberg; and not being able to get a passage over the Rhine, but through the cities which belonged to Holland, he sent to ask leave of the Dutch to pass at Wesel, and after fourteen days march arrived at the gates of that city. The Dutch garrison refused to open them; but the Count d'Avaux, Plenipotentiary of France, happening fortunately to be in that city, he, with many remonstrances, obtained leave for the King's army to enter it. Then the Viscount dispatched a courier to General Wrangel to communicate his design to him; passed the Rhine on the fifteenth of July, continued his rout through the county of La Mark, along the Lippe, to Lipstadt, and from thence turned to the right cross Westphalia; and at length, after a march, which was as expeditious as painful he joined the Swedish army commanded by General Wrangel, and the Count de Konigsmark, who, since the departure of the Duke d'Enguien, was returned



returned to serve with Turenne. This so much desired union was made on the tenth of August, on the frontiers of Hesse, between Wetzlar and Gießen, on the river Lahn, with all the ceremony and marks of respect due to the army of France; the Swedes drew up in battalia, gave two salvoes, and would have the Viscount de Turenne give the word.

The Imperialists and Bavarians had closely shut up General Wrangel, but durst not attack him, because he kept himself entrenched in an advantageous post, till the French should arrive. Upon the news of their arrival, the enemy retired six leagues from thence, and encamped near the City of Fridberg. The French and Swedish armies amounted to 7000 foot and 10000 horse, with sixty pieces of canon; the Imperialists and Bavarians had 14000 horse and 10000 foot, with only fifty pieces of canon. This superiority did not hinder the Viscount from marching to them, and advancing as far as Fridberg. The Archduke Leopold was so far from offering battle, that he employed himself day and night in making deeper the entrenchments of his camp, in which he was almost buried already. Turenne, who wanted only to pass, continued his rout towards the Mein, and halted between Frankfort and Hanau, ten leagues from Mentz, from whence he sent for the rest of his infantry. All the troops of the allies being now united, Turenne and Wrangel passed the Mein, and marched down the river and took Selingenstat and Aschaffembourg; and the alarm immediately spread through all the country, where people hoped to have enjoyed great tranquillity, under the shelter of two powerful armies. The peasants abandoned the country and fled in crowds for refuge to the neighbouring cities, where the magistrates opened their gates to the allies: but as their army

An. 1646.

The Imperialists and Bavarians retire, and the Viscount passes the Mein.

An. 1646. army did not, at most, exceed 20000 men, they could not put garrisons in all the places, without weakening it: and they contented themselves with blowing up the fortifications of some, and taking the principal inhabitants for hostages from others.


The Viscount de Turenne opens a way into the three Circles of Franconia, Swabia and Bavaria.

When the Duke of Bavaria knew that the allies had passed the Mein, he broke down the bridges of Dillingen and Hockstet upon the Danube, which was the only barrier to his dominions, ordered his most valuable effects to be removed from Munich to Burkhausen, and complained bitterly to the Emperor of the Archduke Leopold, who had so ill defended Germany. Indeed this Prince, by not opposing the allies at Fridberg, had, in effect, opened a way to them into Franconia, Swabia, and Bavaria; the places stored with provisions in these three Circles, were exposed to pillage, because no care had been taken to fortify them, in confidence that they would be secure from insults, behind all the forces of the Empire, which were to defend the passage of the Mein. The booty might have been inestimable, and the Viscount might have demanded, for himself alone, 100000 crowns contribution *per* month, without doing any thing contrary to the usages of war: but with an unparalleled disinterestedness, he only took out of the enemy's magazines what was sufficient to subsist his army. Whilst the Imperialists and Bavarians, to the surprize of all Europe, continued unactive in the country of Fulde, to which they had retired, the armies of France and Sweden entered Franconia and Swabia, took Schorndorf, Dinkepsuhel and Nordlinguen, and passed the Danube at Donawert and Lavingen, whose bridges had not been broken down. Immediately the Duke of Bavaria retired to Braunaw, on the river Inn, not thinking himself safe in his capital. The Viscount de Turenne, and General

Wrangel still advanced farther into the country, and crossed the Lech, on the twenty second of September. An. 1646.

The Swedes went and besieged the city of Rain, which is one of the best fortresses in Bavaria, and the Viscount sent the Marquis de Beauvau with 500 horse to summon Ausburg to surrender. When the magistrates in their surprise and dread, were beginning to capitulate, General Wrangel, fearing lest the French should make themselves masters of the place, sent word to the Viscount, in order to divert him from that enterprize, that he met with great opposition in the siege of Rain, and intreated him to come immediately to his assistance. Turenne, believing that the magistrates of Ausburg would protract their negotiations as long as they saw the Swedish army employed in the siege of Rain, hastened thither, and recalled the Marquis de Beauvau from Ausburg, hoping to return thither soon and besiege it with both armies. He opened trenches for a second approach as soon as he came to Rain, and on the third day got to the foot of the bastion. The besieged beat the chamade on the side of his attack, capitulated with him, and marched out to the number of 2000 men. During these three days, Wrangel spake often to the Viscount of the rights Sweden had to the city of Ausburg, because the great Gustavus had formerly made himself master of it; and insinuated, that it rather belonged to the Swedes than the French to appoint a Governor there when it should be taken. Then Turenne saw what was the true reason for which Wrangel had sent for him, and the false step he had taken in abandoning Ausburg: but it was now irrecoverable: the Bavarians from Memmingen, to the number of between 12 and 1500, were already entered into Ausburg: nevertheless, he marched thither, in hopes of carrying it before the Imperial and Bavarian armies could come to its assistance. The Viscount and General Wrangel  
rook

*He besieges,  
Ausborg  
takes the ci-  
ty of Rain.*

An. 1646. took up their quarters round the place, each opening  
 trenches for an approach on the side where he was posted : and in a short time they advanced to the edge of the ditch, which was very wide and very deep.

The Arch-  
 duke returns  
 to relieve the  
 Bavarians.

The Duke of Bavaria in this alarm declared to the Emperor, that he would strike up an accommodation with France, if this important city was suffered to be taken, between which and Munich there was no place of defence. The Emperor fearing the defection of the Bavarians, ordered the Archduke to march : the Imperial and Bavarian armies left the country of Fulde, took their rout by Schweinfurt, Bamberg, and Nuremberg in Franconia, penetrated into the Upper Palatinate, where they found some new reinforcements, and passed the Danube at \* Straubing. The Archduke soon appeared near Aufburg, with an army much superior to that of the allies, and the Viscount and Wrangel were obliged to retire nine or ten leagues from it, towards Lavingen. On the other hand the Archduke passed the Lech, and came and encamped in Suabia, between Memmingen and that river, about five leagues from Landsperg, where he had a great magazin of provisions. His scheme was to attack the allies when their forrage should be consumed, and oblige them to retire as far as Franconia. By thus driving them from Suabia, he would have been able to have retaken in the winter, without any siege, all the places they had conquered : and all the exploits of this campaign would have been useless.

The Vis-  
 count  
 marches up  
 to the Arch-  
 duke's camp  
 without at-  
 tacking it.

The Viscount de Turenne and General Wrangel saw through the designs of the Archduke, and resolved to march up to him. It was now the beginning of November, the season was severe, and the ground was covered with snow : the army weak and fatigued wanted horses, arms and cloaths : but not-

\* See Puffendorf, *de rebus Suecicis*.

withstanding



withstanding all these inconveniencies, they marched towards Memmingen, to the side where the enemy was. After they had viewed their camp, they judged it a rash thing to undertake to force it : the Archduke had posted himself behind great marshes and long defiles, and had added all the precautions of art to the advantages of nature in fortifying his trenches.

Nevertheless, in order to make this Prince believe they designed to attack him, they drew near his lines ; and then leaving at some distance from them a large front of 2000 horse, to cover the march of the rest of the army, they made all haste to the banks of the Lech, passed it over the bridge the Imperialists had left there, and advanced to Landsperg, which they took by assault. Thus they made themselves masters of the enemy's magazines, and had six months provisions for their army which encamped round this city, from whence they sent to levy contributions to the very gates of Munich. The Archduke finding himself by this means without provisions, and having two great armies, was forced to repass the Lech : and when he had separated from the Bavarians, put the Imperialists into winter quarters in the hereditary countries. The Duke of Bavaria, much dissatisfy'd with Leopold, resolved from that time to abandon the Emperor and take care of himself, by making peace, in order to save his dominions, which he saw become a prey to the French and Swedish troops. The allies had decamped from about Landsperg, ravaged all Bavaria, and were returned near to Memmingen. The Duke thus hard pressed, desired a truce of the French Plenipotentiaries at Munster and Osnaburg : they sent Croissi, a Counsellor of the Parliament of Paris, to know of the Viscount the true State of Affairs in Germany. Conferences were held at Ulm : Bauschenberg, General of the Bavarian artillery, was sent thither by

An. 1646.  
The Viscount steals a march from him, and intercepts his provisions.

An. 1646. by the Duke, and Major General Tracy, by the Viscount, whose advice governed all the deliberations. At last, on the fourteenth of March, the following articles were agreed on: That the Duke of Bavaria should separate himself entirely from the interests of the Emperor; That he should no longer assist him with his troops; That he should give a passage and provisions to the King's troops; and, That the cities of Lavingen, Gondelfingen, and Hochstet in the Circle of Bavaria, and the other places between Ulm and Donawert should continue in the hands of the Most Christian King. The Viscount insisted on this last article, that in case the Duke of Bavaria should break his word, as he had already done, he might be brought to reason by means of these places, which opened a way into his dominions.

An. 1647. After the retreat of the Bavarians, the Emperor's army was reduced to 5000 foot and 6000 horse: the French and Weymarian troops, which were refreshed and recruited, together with the Swedes commanded by Wrangel and Konigsmark, amounted to near 14,000 foot and 20,000 horse. This great superiority so terrified the Imperialists that they durst not appear, and at the same time determined the Cardinal Minister to recal the Weymarians and French from Germany: he would have them serve in Flanders, where the army was much diminished, since a great part of it had been sent into Catalonia under the Duke d'Enguien, now become Prince of Condé by the death of his father in last December. The Viscount de Turenne foreseeing that the German regiments would make a difficulty of marching into Flanders, warmly opposed this separation. He sent several Couriers to the Cardinal, to remonstrate to him, that the ruin of the House of Austria was certain, if the two armies continued united; that by their separation, the Duke of Bavaria would have

The Viscount receives orders from Court to leave Germany and march into Flanders.

be at liberty to turn against the Swedes whenever An. 1647.  
 he pleased; that there was no danger of making the Swedes too powerful in Germany, so long as France had an army there; and in short, that the King would be in a condition to give at least as powerful a protection to the Catholic religion as that of the House of Austria. The friends of Bavaria and the Catholic Princes represented on the contrary to the Queen Regent, That the continuance of the war with the Emperor would utterly destroy the Catholic religion in Germany; that the Swedes alone would reap advantage from the fall of the House of Austria; that the King by withdrawing his army, would leave the affairs of the empire in a sort of equilibrio, so that neither the House of Austria nor the Swedes would be masters of it; and lastly, that the Duke of Bavaria, keeping up his army, would always incline the ballance to which side France pleased. These reasons prevailed against the remonstrances of the Viscount; and the want of troops in Flanders occasion'd him a fresh order to march thither. The Queen had first written him a letter of the fifteenth of April, in which she ordered him to prepare to leave Germany, to secure all the places he had taken, and put faithful Governors in them; but still left him at liberty to hasten or delay his departure as occasion required: but in another letter, dated in May, seeing that he still hesitated about it, she ordered him to march immediately towards Luxembourg, and then to Flanders, whither the Archduke was gone to command the Spanish troops. The Viscount being at last obliged to leave Bavaria, before he went to Philipsburg to pass the Rhine there, took Viblingen on the Danube near the Ulm, Tubingen on the Neckar in the Dutchy of Wirtemberg, Steinheim and Hoechst on the Mein, Darmstadt and Gernsheim on the Rhine, and some other places, which might secure his conquests, and

K

open.

An. 1647. open several ways into the heart of the Empire.

~~~~~ The fortifications of some he rased, and placed small garisons in others.

General Rosen hinders the Weymarian troops from going into Flanders.

In the mean time, the Weymarian troops in the Viscount's army, openly declared their unwillingness to go into Flanders: Rosen, an officer of the greatest credit among them, who had been taken prisoner at Mariendal, and was just exchanged since the truce with the Bavarians, was glad to find an opportunity to withdraw himself from obedience to the Viscount, whose presence continually reproached him with his faults at Mariendal: he judged of Turenne by himself, and thought he would never forgive him his having been the chief cause of the only defeat he had ever met with. Actuated by these motives, he had thoughts of making himself master of this body of Germans, and took advantage of the disposition in which he found the Weymarians, to disengage them from France, and keep them in Germany. Every thing favoured his design; these troops, as auxiliaries, were free; they loved their own country, and were afraid that if they went into Flanders, they should be incorporated with others, lose their privileges, and not have the same pay: the Emperor and the Swedes offered them still more, and France was five or six months in arrear to them. The Cardinal Minister, in the present low state of the finances, had not been able to promise them more than one month's pay, and had even in that broke his word to them.

The Weymarian troops refuse to pass the mountains of Saverne and revolt.

The Viscount de Turenne had used all methods to induce them to bear with this delay: he had put the German cavalry into quarters where they had great plenty, and had procured the officers new promotions, governments and pensions: for Rosen in particular, he had obtained the commission of Lieutenant General of the horse: but the idleness and ease the Germans enjoyed in their quarters, served only




only to raise reflections and discourses among them <sup>An. 1647.</sup> which confirmed them in their mutiny. The Viscount having at length begun to march after the last order, had scarce passed the Rhine at Philippsburg, before the Germans openly declared that they would not follow him, refused to pass the mountain of Saverne, and threatened to return back : so that of all the Weymarian cavalry only the regiment of Turenne passed it. The next day, the chief officers of this rebellious cavalry came and demanded of the Viscount the six months pay that was due to them : he answered, that it was impossible for him to give them any money till they came into Flanders ; that if they marched thither, he would procure them the strongest assurances from Court that the whole should be paid. This answer not being sufficient to suppress the spirit of sedition which was entered into them, he sent Rosen, whose fidelity he had never yet suspected, to bring them to their duty. Rosen was so far from lessening the evil, that he increased it, continued with them, and sent the Viscount word that the German officers detained him by force : from that time he acted as a General who acknowledged no superior, and the next day ordered them to march ; he sent to Strasburg for boats, threatened the inhabitants to burn all their villages if they refused them, and continued his rout towards the Rhine.

The Viscount immediately followed him with 3000 foot, four French regiments, and his own regiment of horse ; marched nine German leagues in one day, and came up with the rebels as they were beginning to pass the Rhine. Rosen, who was thunderstruck at the sight of him, not knowing what to do, and perhaps imagining that he could yet conceal his unfaithfulness from him, said to him, *you see how they drag me along with them.* These words, and Rosen's countenance, convinced Turenne that he was betraying him ; but nevertheless he thought it

The Viscount pursues the Weymarians to the banks of the Rhine.

An. 1647. necessary to dissemble his resentment. He might lawfully have fallen on the mutineers ; their conduct deserved an exemplary punishment ; his troops were superior in number, and there was so great a confusion among theirs, that he could have put them all to the sword. But Turenne, who was the father of the soldiery, could not resolve to sacrifice so many brave men, who had served the King so well, and might still be useful to him. These humane sentiments induced him to comply with the solicitations of some of their officers, who represented to him, that it would be the more easy to bring back the mutineers to their duty, if he would give way a little to their first fury, by suffering them to repass the river : he consented, provided they did not march far beyond it.

In the mean time, the Viscount found himself extremely embarrassed. On one hand, he had reason to apprehend, that the Weymarians would desert and go over to the Emperor or the Duke of Bavaria, who had been compelled by force to make a truce, and was always ready to renew the war ; and he foresaw the utter ruin of the French affairs in Germany, if the Bavarians should in his absence join with the Imperialists, after they had drawn off from him the best part of his troops. On the other, the Court sent him positive orders to leave Germany ; and he was sensible, that the joining his army to that in Flanders would put the French into a condition to ruin the Spaniards. He considered both sides, and at last resolved to suspend his journey, upon a conviction that it was better for him to continue in Germany where France was in danger of losing all, than to go to Flanders, where all that could be proposed was to enlarge her conquests. When he was come to this resolution, he sent an account of the reasons of his conduct to Court ; kept only his 3000 foot and his regiment of German horse with him, and ordered

ordered the four other regiments of French horse, An. 1647. with the rest of his army which was already at Sa- verne, to march on to Flanders.

After their departure, he continued near a month on the banks of the Rhine, with a design to use all possible means to recover the troops which had always been the terror of the Empire, and not to make use of force, till he found them ready to desert and march towards the hereditary countries. He often discoursed with the German officers, advised them to continue faithful to France, and at last regained them all except Rosen. Then the troopers refusing to obey their officers any longer, chose commanders from among themselves, and resolved to continue their march. As Rosen still fomented the revolt, the Viscount thought the only means entirely to quash it, would be to put him under arrest: this he had not immediately an opportunity to do; but that he might not fail of one, he went to Rosen's quarters, resolving never to leave him. Upon the news of his arrival, the Weymarians removed to a little distance; but when they understood that he came alone without any troops, they returned again in the evening. Turenne supped at Rosen's quarters with several officers whose fidelity he was well assured of: the evening was spent with great cheerfulness and mirth: the Viscount appeared to be without any design or resentment, or even a suspicion of Rosen's unfaithfulness. About midnight, he was informed, that the mutineers were mounting their horses, and marching towards the Marquisate of Baden. Highly pleased with their not taking their rout towards Bavaria, he left his own troops on the other side of the river, and determined to go with them, and not leave them till they came near Philippsburg, into a country where they would be far from the Imperial cities, and surrounded with French garrisons. The attempt was bold: but being well

He passes the Rhine with the Weymarians, and marches towards Philippsburg.

An. 1647. assured of the officers, who had served long under him, and being persuaded that the soldiers who loved him, would shew respect to his person, he thought this step necessary, in so critical a conjuncture, for the interests of France. He therefore put himself at the head of them, accompanied with Rosen, whom he always kept in his sight: he sent before him the Quarter-masters to mark out their camp; did all the offices of General as usual, as if there had been no revolt; and not one of the new leaders durst retain the least shadow of authority in his presence. He marched thus two days: on the third, the leaders of the sedition came to the General's quarters, again to demand of him the six months pay: upon this he instantly mounted his horse, and remonstrated to the soldiers, without vouchsafing to take any manner of notice of their chiefs, that it was not possible for him to pay the whole six months; but that, if they would repass the Rhine, he would pay them one, and use all his interest at Court to get them the rest without further delay. All immediately asked him, whether he would be security for it: many there are perhaps who would not have scrupled promising, in order to extricate themselves out of such a difficulty: but the Viscount, who never promised more than it was in his power to perform, and who thought it a dishonouring himself to fail in his word, would not engage for what he could not do, and only repeated what he had said. He saw by the countenances of the chiefs, that this answer only fowered them, and that they had thoughts of securing his person. He did not appear to guess at their intentions, but still kept his temper; and reassuming an air of authority, which was natural to him at the head of troops, he commanded \* them to return to their quarters: all obeyed, and not one durst make any reply.

\* Siri, tom. IX. part 2. pag. 99 1.



Rosen, who was still with the Viscount, endeavoured in vain to persuade him to leave an army, in which he could not continue with safety: Turenne would not stir, but continued to march at the head of the rebels the next day; and at length they arrived at Etlingen, a little town in the Marquisate of Baden, eight leagues from Philipsburg. The chief officers lodged in the place, and the troops encamped round it. That very night he caused privately to come from Philipsburg 100 musqueteers, whom he ordered to be at the gates of Etlingen, at the opening of them in the morning: As soon as they were arrived, he ordered the guard of that gate to lay down their arms, and placed 50 of these musqueteers to guard it in their room; and with the other 50 he went to Rosen's lodgings, put him under arrest, and ordered him to be carried prisoner to Philipsburg, where he was detained till the peace of Westphalia. Then he sent to the rebels camp, to inform all the Officers of the imprisonment of Rosen, with orders not to acknowledge him any longer as their Lieutenant-General. Upon this, all the Officers of the mutineers, down to the very corporals, and two whole \* regiments, separated themselves from the rest, came and joined the Viscount, and promised him an entire obedience as their chief commander. The rest of the Weymarians, to the number of 1500, having chose some from among themselves to command them, took the road to Franconia, and marched towards the valley of Tauber, with incredible expedition. The Viscount followed them at the head of those who were returned to their duty, came up with them at Konigshouen, and attacked them: 300 he cut in pieces, made as many prisoners, and the rest, to the number of between eight and nine hundred, gain'd the banks of the Mein, join'd the Swedish army, and

An. 1647.  
He secures  
Rosen, and  
pursues a  
part of the  
Weymar-  
ians who  
leave him.

20 July.

\* Mem. MSS. of the Viscount de Turenne.

An. 1647. entered into the pay of that Crown. When he was going to hang the prisoners, an old trooper who was leading to the gallows, opened his bosom, and looking the Viscount stedfastly in the face, said to him, *General, don't stain the glory of your noble actions, by causing an old soldier who is covered with scars, and who has a thousand times braved death under your standards, to die by the hands of the common hangman* † : The Viscount was softened, forgave him and all the rest, and incorporated them in his own troops, to which he returned. The Court did justice to his merit ; all the world admired his courage, prudence and humanity. He had, in a very delicate and important conjuncture, dissembled the most just resentments ; paid court to his inferiors, without lessening his authority ; chastised particular persons, without losing the confidence of the body ; made himself respected by the rebels at the same time that he put himself in their power ; then punished some, and pardoned others, as prudence required ; and at last brought back the greatest part of them to their duty.

Then he comes to Luxembourg, and there takes several places.

Turenne came to Luxembourg in the month of September, and received orders not to go further, but employ his troops in taking some places, in order to make a diversion, and oblige the Spaniards to divide their army in Flanders. He made himself master of the city of Virton, the castle of Manguin, and of some other places. The Archduke not doubting but France had some great designs on Luxembourg, sent thither a detachment from his army, which weakened it so much, that he was so far from being in a condition to undertake any thing in Flanders, as not to be able to save the cities of Dixmude, la Bassie, and Lens, which were taken by the Marshals de Gassion and de Rantzau.

† Vittor. Siri. Mercur.

During

During these transactions, the event verified what the Viscount de Turenne had foreseen of the conduct of the Duke of Bavaria. The Elector seeing that the Swedes gained great advantages over the Emperor, and fearing lest they should grow too powerful, join'd his army to that of the Imperialists, and thought he might break the treaty of neutrality with the Swedes, without breaking it with the French. General \* Melander, who commanded the Imperial and Bavarian armies, having entered Hesse, drove Wrangel as far as the Duchy of Brunswick, and retook great part of what the armies of France and Sweden had conquer'd the last year. The Queen of Sweden informed of his progress, complained to the King of this infraction of the Treaty of Ulm, and earnestly pressed him to punish the unfaithfulness of the Duke of Bavaria. The Court of France sent orders to the Viscount to return immediately into Germany: he left Luxembourg, marched into the Palatinate, made the Imperialists and Spaniards raise the Siege of Wormes; and having thrown a bridge over the Rhine near Oppenheim, continued some time in the country of Darmstadt, till the Swedes were in a condition to march.

An. 1647.  
He marches  
back his  
Troops into  
Germany.

† It was during his stay in this country, about the middle of December, that he received express orders to break the neutrality with the Duke of Bavaria: a formal declaration of war was necessary in these circumstances, to assure the King's allies of the falshood of the reports already spread all over Germany, that France had an understanding with Maximilian. The Viscount therefore, to remove all doubt concerning it, wrote the following letter to the Elector, and at the same time made it publick.

He receives  
Orders from  
Court to  
break the  
neutrality  
with the  
Duke of Ba-  
varia.

\* Peter Melander, Baron of Holtzappel, Count of the Holy Empire.

† Siri. Tome xi. p. 899.

An. 1647.

The Vis-  
count's Let-  
ter to the  
Duke of Ba-  
varia.

“ I wrote some time since to your Electoral  
 “ Highness, to inform you, that I had not then  
 “ received any orders from Court, concerning  
 “ what I was to do, since your rupture with the  
 “ Swedes, and that I had sent a Courier to France  
 “ to know the King’s pleasure. I have since re-  
 “ ceived orders from his Majesty, to send a trum-  
 “ pet to your Electoral Highness, to inform you,  
 “ that the King continues in the same offensive and  
 “ defensive alliance with the Swedes, in order to  
 “ obtain a good peace, and that his army will for  
 “ the future act jointly with theirs, as long as your  
 “ Electoral Highness shall be in war with them.  
 “ This information I could not fail of doing my self  
 “ the honour to give you, and intreat you to be-  
 “ lieve me to be, &c.

The Duke of Bavaria made him the following  
 answer. “ Illustrious Prince, yours of this month,  
 “ tho’ the date does not mention the day, have  
 “ been delivered me by your trumpet, and I there-  
 “ by learn, that you have received orders from  
 “ the Court of France, to break the neutrality I  
 “ had concluded with that Crown, and in which I  
 “ had expressly stipulated, that I would not ad-  
 “ here to the Treaty, if your troops should ever  
 “ for the future act either offensively or defensively  
 “ against me. I must confess, that I was much  
 “ surprized at the renunciation of the neutrality by  
 “ the Crown of France, that it is what I did not  
 “ expect, and that I had even flattered my self  
 “ with the contrary, from the declarations that were  
 “ made to me on the part of the Queen Regent,  
 “ and Cardinal Mazarin, at the time when I re-  
 “ nounced the neutrality settled between me and the  
 “ Crown of Sweden, for particular reasons, which  
 “ I explain’d in writing, and by my Ambassa-  
 “ dors at Munster. Those declarations were indeed  
 “ contrary to the present resolution ; but neverthe-  
 “ less,



“ less, since it is a thing already resolved and done, An. 1647.  
 “ with a view, as it is said, to procure Peace, I  
 “ must be satisfied; and tho’ my forces are not  
 “ comparable to those of the powerful Crown of  
 “ France, I will defend my self as well as I can,  
 “ against those who shall attack me, in confidence  
 “ that since they will not adhere to my pacifick in-  
 “ tentions, God will bless my arms, that I may  
 “ obtain a peace; and in the mean time I will en-  
 “ deavour to defend my self against my enemies.


*Munich, Dec. 30, 1647.*

After he had received the King’s orders, the Vis- An. 1648.  
 count passed the Main, the 11th of February, and  
 went to the frontiers of Hesse, there to meet the The Viscount  
joins the  
Swedes in  
Franconia.  
 Swedes. He marched fast, notwithstanding the  
 ice, and snows, and his continual want of forrage.  
 He had 4000 foot, 4000 horse, and 20 pieces  
 of canon: and the fifteen places conquer’d beyond  
 the Rhine were in a very good condition. The  
 Imperialists and Bavarians having heard the news of  
 Turenne’s march, and being afraid of laying be-  
 tween the French and Swedish armies, left Hesse,  
 retired beyond the Danube, and posted themselves  
 under Ingolstadt in Bavaria. General Wrangel, when  
 thus delivered, return’d to Hesse, and advanced as far  
 as Gelenhausen in the County of Hanau, between  
 Hesse and Franconia, where the Viscount joined  
 him on the 23d of March: from thence they repass’d  
 the Mein, cross’d Franconia, went to the banks  
 of the Danube, and there rested for seven days, to  
 consider what course to take. Wrangel and Ko-  
 nigsmarc designed to lead the armies into the Pa-  
 latinate of Bavaria, and from thence towards Bohe-  
 mia; but the Viscount would not consent to it, and  
 represented, that this would carry them too far from  
 Swabia, the only place from whence they could be  
 supply’d with ammunition and provisions; that the  
 Bavarians would take advantage of their absence, to  
 seize


An. 1648. seize the places which France held beyond the Rhine; and that besides, as his cavalry had not been in winter quarters, he had promised them to give them time to refresh themselves, and be recruited. Nevertheless, the Viscount offered to go towards the Upper Palatinate, on condition that Wrangel would restore him the German deserters, or give him other soldiers in their room, to garrison and defend those places on the Rhine, which by their distance would be exposed to the enemy's insults: but the Swedish Generals were so far from granting him what he desired, that they sought only to debauch from him the rest of the Weymarian troops, which he had in his army. The only resource the Emperor had left, was to gain the Swedes, and engage them to separate themselves from the French: he promised to leave them all they had conquered in Germany, provided they could oblige the King to give up his pretensions to the lands of the Empire. Wrangel and Königsmark wanted therefore to draw the King's army to a distance from the Rhine, with a view of making use of it to secure the conquests in the heart of the Empire, which were to belong to them, without any regard to the preservation of those of France near the Rhine. The Viscount was at the same time concern'd to appease the commotions that were rising in his army: the rebellious Weymarians, who had entered into the Swedish pay, were continually sowing sedition; and the advancement of several of those deserters, who were promoted to be officers, could not fail of exciting the jealousy of their old companions, who had continued faithful to the Viscount. In these circumstances, all his prudence was wanting to prevent a second revolt, which might have been more fatal than the first.

After the junction he attacks General Melander, and defeats both him and Montecuculi.

He withstood with constancy all the persuasions the Swedish Generals made use of to prevail on him to

to follow them, but without lessening the good correspondence he resolved to keep up with them.  An. 1648.

At last Konigsmark and Wrangel threatned to leave him, and in order to make him afraid of it, marched towards the Upper Palatinate. But this artifice had little effect: Turenne was persuaded, that when the Swedes were alone, they would not undertake to go farther, and halted in the bishoprick of Bamberg. And he was not mistaken: after a feint of some days, they invited him to come near Rottemburg on the Tauber. The two armies marched together towards the frontiers of Wirtemberg, and the Generals having refreshed them there, agreed to go after the enemy, in order to fight them. When General Melander received advice of the approach of the two armies, he made haste to the other side of the Danube. The confederate Generals passed that river at Lavingen, and there left their heavy baggage and sick, and whatever could embarrass them. The Viscount and General Wrangel marched before with the cavalry, and ordered the infantry to follow them with the canon as fast as they could. They came up with the rear-guard of the enemy's army, commanded by the Count de Montecuculi, at a place near Aufburg called Zusmarhausen or the river Lutzen. Turenne, who led the vanguard, charged Montecuculi's squadrons, broke them, obliged them to seek their safety in a wood, and drove them from thence into a little plain. General Melander, who had been informed of the state of his rear-guard, had hastened thither with a great body of cavalry: the battle was bloody, and the field long disputed; at last Melander was killed, and his cavalry retired in disorder into another wood, at the other end of the plain. Turenne came thither almost at the same time, and found it lin'd with the enemy's infantry, whose fire suspended the ardour of the French squadrons; but General  
gel

An. 1648.  Wrangel having entered the wood through a by-way, the enemy, when surrounded on all sides, could no longer resist: their infantry was entirely defeated, their canon and baggage taken, and their cavalry put to flight and pursued to the river Schmolt, that was fordable only in one very narrow place, which was guarded by Duke Ulrick of Wirtemberg, Major General of the Imperial army. This Prince had with him six or seven squadrons of horse, and three battalions entrenched beyond the river, to defend the passage of it. As the French had no infantry to force it, they pointed the artillery they had taken from the enemy against them, but to no purpose; Duke Ulrick would not abandon the pass, though he saw half his men fall by him; he stood the fire to the end of the day; had five horses killed under him, and by this surprizing firmness preserved the Imperial army from being cut in pieces: Montecuculi took advantage of it, to go and post himself under the canon of Ausburg. The intrepidity of the enemy was much extolled, who stood three engagements in one day, lost their General, and yet were not discouraged either by the difficulties of the retreat, the number of slain, or the loss of their artillery and baggage.


May 19.  
He marches  
towards Ba-  
varia.

Two days after the defeat of Melander, General Konigsmark, seeing his assistance was no longer necessary, marched with some troops towards Bohemia, whilst the Viscount de Turenne and General Wrangel advanced towards Bavaria. The Imperialists left a great garrison in Rain, which the Elector looked on as the gate into his dominions, and retired into the center of the country, waiting for the arrival of \* Piccolomini, who was recalled from Flanders to command them. The Viscount, emboldened by

\* Octavus Piccolomini, originally of Sienna in Italy, afterwards Prince of the Holy Empire, Knight of the Golden Fleece in Spain, and Duke of Amalfi in the Kingdom of Naples.

their



their retreat, resolved to open himself a way into An. 1648. Bavaria, by crossing the Lech. The enemy had a  bridge there, the head of which was defended by a little fort : the garrison was so vigorously attacked, that they set fire to the bridge : some of the Viscount's soldiers swam to the fire and put it out ; May 29. the bridge was repaired, the fort abandoned, and the French army passed the Lech here, whilst the Swedes passed it in another place. When the two Generals were joined, they met with no more opposition : without losing time by forming the siege of Rain, as the Bavarians had imagined, they penetrated into Bavaria, crossed the river Ambre, and took Frisingen on the Iser, where they found a very great quantity of ammunition and provisions. The Bavarians, who had passed the Iser at Landshut, had just burnt the bridge of Frisingen, and being encamped over-against the allies on the other side of the river, where they had two redoubts, they with their fire incommoded the squadrons which were sent to sound the fords : but upon the sight of a battery of six great pieces of canon, which the Viscount raised, they retired in the night between the third and fourth of June, went and burnt the bridge of Landshut, and abandoned that city and Mosburg. The terror was universal ; the German horse of the French army made incursions as far as to the river Inn, from whence they brought several prisoners, and much cattle : among the rest, ten horsemen in particular swam the Inn, and though naked and without arms, drove away with stones above 500 Bavarian peasants, who were keeping their flocks in a meadow, and took from them thirty horses\*.

The Imperial and Bavarian armies were then reduced to 3000 foot ; and the Elector of Bavaria not thinking himself safe in his capital, went to seek

\* See Pu l'endorf *de rebus Succicis*.

The D. of Bavaria leaves his capital and retires into the Arch-bishopric of Saltzburg.  
a re-

An. 1648. a retreat in the Archbishopric of Saltzburg. At seventy eight years of age he embarked with the Princess his wife and his children, and from his own boat saw another perish, in which were his domestics and his equipage. In these melancholy circumstances he wrote to the Emperor, to press him to conclude a peace, and to Cardinal Mazarin, to give him a lively description of his misfortunes, and of the ravages the French army committed in his dominions; but he received no answer, and was obliged to continue several months with the Archbishop of Saltzburg. This Prelate, though provoked, was very ready to receive the Elector, who had shewed him but little regard during his prosperity.

June 12.  
The Viscount makes  
an irruption  
into Bavaria.

On the twelfth of June, the confederate Generals made two bridges over the Iser at Frisingen, passed that river, continued their march, obliged all the cities to redeem themselves from fire and pillage, with considerable sums, and penetrated as far as the banks of the Inn, where they took Muldorf, whilst the enemy's army retired toward Passau. The Viscount de Turenne, who staid a fortnight at Muldorf, endeavoured in vain to pass the Inn, in order to march into the hereditary countries: the river was wide and deep, there were no boats, neither could piles be fixed to make a bridge. On the sixth of July the confederate Generals set out from Muldorf, where their forrage was consumed, and went on the ninth to Newmark, and from thence to Egenfelden on the Rot. In the mean time Piccolomini crossed the Danube at Passau, and arrived within five or six leagues of the French and Swedish camp, with an army of 10000 foot, and 15000 horse. The Viscount, instead of continuing on the Inn, thought proper to go to Dingelsing on the Iser, where there was greater plenty of forrage: the enemy arrived the next day at Landshut on the same river,

river, and there encamped a whole month, without daring to attack the Viscount. From this camp they were obliged to send some troops into Bohemia, where Konigsmark had surprized the city of Prague; besides, their army was daily weakened by the frequent losses they sustained in rencounters between small parties: Prince Ulrick of Wirtemberg was taken prisoner in one of them, and this misfortune utterly discouraged them; Provisions failing in the two armies, the enemy retired towards Munich, the allies drew near to Mosburg. The Viscount set out from thence on the fourth of September, with 800 musketeers, ten regiments of horse, one regiment of dragoons, and four pieces of canon, for Dachau on the river Amber, almost in sight of Munich, and that city immediately surrendered. The French and Swedes staid near Mosburg till the first of October, and then left the enemy's country which they had been pillaging and laying waste, upon the approach of the winter season. Such was the irruption into Bavaria, in which the enemy were pursued from city to city, from post to post, from river to river, without intermission, for four months together: during which the whole country was exposed to the fury of the soldiers, as far as the gates of Munich, Ingolstadt, Ratisbon, and Prague; and in which, nevertheless, no considerable action happened, but only a few convoys were taken, and some parties defeated.

On the tenth of October the French and Swedish armies repassed the Lech near Landsberg; and on the fifteenth crossed the Danube at Donawert, and came to refresh themselves in the neighbourhood of Lavingen. The Viscount de Turenne was making preparations for penetrating, the next campaign, into Austria, and marching up to Vienna, when a courier from the Count Servien brought him advice

L

of

An. 1648.

October 1.

October 10.

He repulses the Lech

and the Danube, and

receives advice

that the peace was concluded at Munster.

An. 1648. of the conclusion of the peace at Munster, and the cessation of arms agreed on, till the ratification of it. At the same time the Elector of Mentz, the Duke of Wirtemberg, several other Princes, the Magistrates of towns corporate, and some Embassadors wrote to him to congratulate him, declaring that this peace, which had been so much desired, was as much the fruit of his conduct and victories, as the work of the Plenipotentiaries \*.

The motives which induced the several powers to make a peace.

Two considerable events had induced Cardinal Mazarin to grant the Emperor a peace. The breaking out of the intestine troubles in France, and the separate peace the Dutch had just made with Spain. The Emperor, on the other hand, who was much reduced by his misfortunes, consented to every thing France required: Christina Queen of Sweden, content with the victories she had already gained, preferred the cultivation of the liberal arts and sciences to the noise and glory of arms. The Protestants, who were at first animated by their religion, were much come off from their zeal for the interest of the Elector Palatine; and the Duke of Bavaria, like an able politician, found means to procure himself wonderful advantages from this disposition. Spain only refused to grant France her demands, and the war continued between those two Crowns, till the peace of the Pyrenees: all the other powers, abating of their pretensions, shewed the same desire for a peace, which was at last concluded and solemnly signed.


The chief articles of the peace of Westphalia.

The treaty was begun with a clause of general oblivion of all that was passed, and the decision of the differences about the States of Lorrain, was referred to the treaty which should be made between France and Spain. Then these chief articles were settled, which changed the face of affairs in the Empire, and in all Europe: That Maximilian Duke

\* See the Authorities. Numb. 3.



of Bavaria, and his descendants, should continue to enjoy the Electoral Dignity formerly possessed by the Electors Palatines; with all its prerogatives, the Upper Palatinate and the county of Cham; on condition that he give up the thirteen millions due to him from the Emperor, and all his pretensions to the Upper Austria: That in order to make the deprived Palatine amends, an eighth Electorate should be created in his favour, and that the Lower Palatinate should be restored to him in the same extent, and with the same rights which his predecessors had enjoyed before the troubles in Bohemia: that if either of these two branches of the Palatine family should fail, the Electoral Estates and Dignity should be united in the survivor, and the new Electorate be extinct: that the Emperor should restore what he had taken from the Elector of Triers: that the Protestants of the Ausburg confession should be preserved in the free exercise of their religion: that France should restore to the Duke of Wirtemberg the places she had taken from him: that the Margrave of Baden should be put into the same condition in which he was before the troubles in Bohemia: That the affair of the succession of Juliers should be amicably determined: that justice should be done to the Landgrave of Hesse: that the power and authority of the Diets should be restored, and the liberty preserved to the German Princes of uniting among themselves, and making alliances with foreigners for their own defence; provided it was not done against the Emperor or the Empire: that the supreme sovereignty of the Bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and these three cities, with their dependencies, should belong to the Crown of France, and be united to it, except only the metropolitan right, which should still belong to the Archbishop of Triers: that the Emperor and Empire should yield to France the right of property and

An. 1648.  sovereignty to Pignerol in Piedmont, as likewise all their right and property in the city of Brisac, the Sundgau, the Upper and Lower Alsace, with a power of keeping Philipsbourg under her protection, and having a garrison in it : That France should restore to the Archduke the four Forest cities, with all their dependencies, and pay him three millions of livres in three years : that the Archbishopric of Bremen, and the Bishopric of Verden, should be turned into lay fees, and given to Sweden ; that Sweden should hold them immediately of the Empire, with a vote in the Diets : and that the port of Wismar, Hither Pomerania, the islands of Rugen and Wollin, the city of Stetin, and several other very considerable places should likewise be given up to the Swedes. Thus ended the differences of France with the Emperor and Empire, and the long religious war which was occasioned by the troubles in Bohemia.

The Viscount's conduct during the negotiations of a peace, and the wars in Germany.

Before the conclusion of the peace, and during the whole time of the negotiations, the Viscount de Turenne had a part to act which was no less difficult than important. The design of the Swedes, in this war, was to invade the Empire, to gain the Protestant party the ascendant in Germany, to hinder the French from keeping any footing beyond the Rhine, and to turn wholly to their own profit, all the advantages that should be gained during the war. The design of France was rather to lessen than destroy the power of the House of Austria ; to put it out of a condition to send succours to the Spaniards in Flanders ; to make use of the forces of the Protestants in a war with the Emperor, without suffering their party to gain the superiority over the Catholic ; and to preserve all the conquests she had made in Germany, in spite of the Swedes. In order to this, the Viscount de Turenne was to concur in gaining advantages for the Swedes, and at the same time

time prevent their being carried too far : to support the Protestant party, without crushing the Catholic : to manage, in a word, so many different persons, and such opposite interests, and at the same time preserve inviolate his zeal for his religion, his fidelity to his King, and his unalterable love of justice. All this he did with an address hardly to be paralleled, and with immoveable firmness and courage, notwithstanding the intrigues of the politicians, the jealousy of his competitors, and the contradictions of the Minister himself.

The END of the SECOND BOOK.

T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E  
Viscount de TURENNE.

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BOOK the THIRD.

An. 1649.

State of  
France after  
the peace  
of West-  
phalia.

**F**RANCE, since the time of Charlemagne, had never been at so high a pitch of glory as after the treaty of Westphalia. She was feared by her enemies and respected by her allies, she had humbled the pride of the House of Austria, extended the limits of her empire, and secured her conquests by a solid peace: but the course of her prosperities was on a sudden interrupted by intestine wars, and by a faction of men, who preferred their private interest to the happiness of the people, and the grandeur of the Monarchy.

Source of  
the troubles  
and revo-  
lutions.

Bodies politic, like bodies natural, are subject to periodical distempers, which are common to many States. About the middle of the seventeenth century, a spirit of rebellion and confusion spread it self over all Europe. Joseph Alexi, a man from among the lees of the people, drove the Viceroy of Sicily from his Palace: Masaniello, a wretch that sold fish at a stall, raised an insurrection at Naples: Paul Balbi attempted to change the Government at Genoa: Cromwell, the most daring artful spirit that ever disturbed the peace of the world, pushed the  
Rebellion



Rebellion in England against King Charles I. to An. 1649. the monstrous crime of a deliberate Regicide: the Janisaries at Constantinople dethroned the Sultan Ibrahim: in France the prime Nobles of the Kingdom took up arms against their Sovereign. In these times of tumult and confusion, the people yielding themselves wholly to their natural levity, lost all their strength, and were quite overwhelmed; their impotent efforts to shake off the yoke, served only to render it more heavy: the laws fell into contempt; the sacred rights of religion were violated; the very purest virtue contracted stains; and even heroes themselves were not proof against the general contagion.

It is impossible to have a just idea of the civil discords in which France was imbroiled, without being acquainted with the characters of the principal actors who governed the motions of almost all the rest.

Anne of Austria, Infanta of Spain, Queen Dowager of France, and Regent of the Kingdom, had, together with a fine person, those amiable qualities which gain affection; she was liberal, generous, faithful to her promises, constant in her attachments, loved justice and hated flattery. The goodness of her own heart hindered her from easily believing ill of others, and made her dissemble the faults of her friends; but through a natural indolence, and a self-distrust, she, for the most part, let herself be so much influenced by those she esteemed, as to adopt their prejudices and espouse their passions. This was a defect that proved very injurious to her glory, and gave occasion to her enemies to accuse her of having *more obstinacy than resolution, more pride than elevation, and more superstition than piety: in a word, more of shew than of reality.* If some have doubted of her capacity, the greater part do however concur in giving her this fine encomium,

Character of  
Anne of Au-  
stria, Queen  
Regent.

An. 1649. comium, *That never any Queen had a better heart.*  
 She deserved this praise, not only on account of her benevolent disposition, but for her invariable adherence to the interest of the King her son. Never was there an instance of a Queen in whom the matrimonial engagements so remarkably prevailed over those sentiments which birth inspires: the moment she became a French-woman she forgot that she was born a Spaniard.

Character of  
 the Duke of  
 Orleans.

Gaston Duke of Orleans was possessed of all the showish sparkling qualities without having much solidity. A most agreeable gaiety of humour; a bewitching manner of trifling, a sprightly imagination; a luminous understanding, a perfect disinterestedness, all these were in him accompanied with a surprising weakness, and a continual irresolution; which transformed all his virtues into defects, yet without making him vicious. *He entered, says Cardinal de Retz, into all affairs, because he had not force of mind to withstand those persons who drew him in, and there was not one of those affairs which he did not quit with dishonour, for want of courage to go through with it.* Had he not been a Prince, he would perhaps have been the most amiable of men: but the high rank in which he was born placed all his weaknesses in open view, and put his talents to such trials as were beyond his strength. The assemblage of so many good qualities and so many defects formed a character that could neither be hated nor esteemed.

Character of  
 the Prince of  
 Condé.

Louis de Bourbon Prince of Condé, was one of the greatest men that France ever produced. In his very first campaigns he shewed himself equal to the most celebrated Captains, and that he needed neither years nor long experience to make him an accomplished soldier. Nature had happily given him that quick sight which at one glance takes in all objects, presents them to the imagination without confusion, and

and dictates to the mind in the very moment what is <sup>An. 1649.</sup> best to be done. Full of a martial enthusiasm, he often seemed to act by a sudden inspiration, which made him despise dangers and break through all obstacles. Fiercely resolute in command, he husbanded neither the lives of his soldiers nor his own ; and, in every engagement intrepid to excess, seemed always determined to conquer or to die. He had an understanding sublime and profound, was eloquent, improved by letters, acquainted with the principal beauties of all the sciences that qualify for conversation, the cabinet and the field. The strength of his genius equal'd the vivacity of his spirit, which was at once full of light and heat. In the midst of his misfortunes he still preserved the hero, and when he had recovered the King's confidence, made the faults of a short interval in his life be forgot ; becoming again, in a riper age, what he had been in his youth, the terror of Spain and of the Empire.

Cardinal Mazarin, of a temper no less mild than that of Richelieu was violent, had a handsome person, and a majestic air ; his manners were polite, his discourse insinuating, his conversation extremely pleasant and charming. The Queen was pleased with him at first, from a sympathy of characters, and he quickly became the soul of all her councils. He was impenetrable in his designs, disguised in his proceedings, artful in his intrigues, and often attained his ends by such ways as would seem to carry him wide of his mark. Notwithstanding that greediness of riches with which he is reproached, he was known in some nice circumstances, to sacrifice the interests of his family to his Master's glory. And though the genius of his politicks was rather cunning than resolution, yet in critical and important occasions, he made no scruple to hazard all, and could face the most pressing dangers with an intrepid soul. The same man who dreaded the cabals in the Parliament  
of

Character of  
Cardinal  
Mazarin.

An. 1644. of Paris, made himself courted by the greatest Powers of Europe, even at the time of his disgrace. He had little knowledge in the fundamental laws of the Kingdom, but was perfectly well versed in foreign affairs. He completed, by his abilities and by negotiations, what his predecessor had begun by force of arms. The methods he employed to raise the regal authority to its highest pitch, were also quite different. Richelieu found no other means to humble the Nobles, than by a severity which often looked like cruelty ; but Mazarin gained this point, by advising the King to enslave them by hopes, soften them by pleasures, and ruin them by luxury.

Character of  
Cardinal de  
Retz.

Jean-François de Gondy, Coadjutor of Paris, afterwards Cardinal de Retz, discovered very early his restless spirit and propensity to faction, and was proud of being called *the Little Catiline*. Ambitious without measure, and courageous even to rashness, he knew no restraint, and was fearless of danger. To gain his point, he made use alternately of gallantry and politics, vice and virtue, religion and the passions \*. Quick, passionate, and of an unruly imagination, his schemes, though he had great penetration and a vast extent of capacity, *always bordered upon the chimerical* ; he was fond of all extraordinary projects, and endeavoured to put them in execution by methods the least common and the fullest of artifice. The Memoirs he has left behind him, give a pretty just idea of his character ; he was in every respect, like his stile, which is full of fire and smoke : he moves, he hurries you along, he intoxicates, but he very seldom enlightens or persuades. We must however do him the justice to confess, that virtue, victorious over the depravity of his heart, rectified in the latter part of his life, all his vicious inclinations. Such were the principal actors who appeared in the

\* See the memoirs of the times.



feuds and divisions of the *Fronde* during the minority of Louis XIV. An. 1646.

After the death of Louis XIII. the Queen was idoliz'd : she had been ever unfortunate ; and perfection reflects always a strong lustre on persons of her rank. Those who had been banished in the preceding reign were recalled ; the state prisoners set at liberty, and such as had been turned out of their employments were restored to them. All things were generously granted, nothing was denied ; and the beneficence of the Queen, after a twelve years war, quite exhausted the treasury. Emery superintendant of the Finances \*, intent upon replenishing it, had been forced to put in practice all the expedients which his invention suggested. The usual resources not being sufficient, he taxed the poor no less than the rich, created new offices, in order to raise considerable Sums by the Sale of them, seized the publick revenues, extorted loans, and by his severity exasperated the minds of the people, alienated their affections, and scattered in all parts of the Kingdom the seeds of a general Revolt. Being unable to devise any further ways and means, he attempted to seize upon the salaries of the Chamber of Accounts, of the Court of Aids, and of the great Council, who all joined with the Parliament, to complain to the Court of the innovation. This last tribunal pronounced the famous arrêt or decree of union, by which it was enacted, that the four superior companies should meet in St. Louis's chamber, there to debate on the public welfare. This arret was as a signal for the malecontents of all conditions to rally, expose their grievances to the Parliament, and demand their being removed. Every one exclaimed against the exorbitancy of the taxes, the forcible exactions, the sale of the effects, the imprisonment of the persons, and the general oppression of the King's subjects.

Origin of the  
civil wars in  
France.

\* Memoirs of the Times.

An. 1645. The members of the Parliament, touch'd with the publick calamities, received the supplications of the wretched, offer'd to see justice done them, and won the favour of the people, who looked upon them as their tutelar Gods, and the protectors of the widow and orphan. There nevertheless were three parties in the Parliament, the *Frondeurs* or Cavillers, who oppos'd the Court; the *Mazarines*, who were for supporting the authority of the Ministry, and the moderate party, who blamed the head strong passion of the one, and the excesses of the other. Besides, in each of these three parties, many acted from different motives; some, struck with the miseries of the people, employed their thoughts wholly how to remove them; others, from a principle of conscience and their country's love, thought, that the preservation of the regal authority was absolutely necessary for the peace of the Kingdom; lastly, others, who perhaps were the most numerous, were actuated only by passion and a spirit of interest. On all sides, justice and injustice, principles and the abuses of principles, right and usurpation were blended and confounded. Liberty was now no longer distinguished from licentiousness, nor the Royal Authority from Arbitrary Power.

Imprisonment of the chiefs, and the first insurrection of the people.

The person who with greatest artifice inspired the sentiments of rebellion into the *Frondeurs* of the Parliament, was Longueil counsellor of the great chamber. He, during some years, had insinuated artfully to the members of the Parliament, that their employments had not been founded, merely to interpret the laws and to do justice to private men; but likewise to reform the conduct of Kings: that under the Ministry of Cardinal Richelieu, the Sovereign had arrogated to himself a power, which was unknown during the twelve hundred years the Monarchy had existed; that the Ministers, overthrowing all forms of justice, had introduced the dangerous principle,

principle, that the Royal Will was the sole arbiter of the possessions, life and liberty of subjects : that the time was now come, for reviving the antient maxims, and restoring that political harmony which ought to be between the authority of the Prince and the obedience of the people \*. Longueil, by thus setting himself up for a patriot, became the oracle of the Fronde : but the only motive of his talking in this republican strain, was merely to revenge himself of the Prime Minister, for having refused him the post of Chancellor to the Queen. He won over two other members of the Parliament, Broussel and Blanc-Menil, who also had some private reasons to be disgusted at the Court. These two men, giving way to the natural heat of their tempers, began to be more obstreperous than Longueil himself, and were for ever endeavouring to inflame the Parliament : the esteem they had gained in it by their turbulent counsels, dazzled the populace, who now grew fond of them, and gave them the glorious name of *Fathers*. The Queen caused them to be seized about the end of August ; and their imprisonment prompted the most seditious spirits to rebel. The tradesmen shut up their shops, stretched chains cross the streets and barricaded them, even close by the *Palais-royal*, against the forces sent to quell them : they clamorously required that Broussel and Blanc-Menil should be set at liberty ; and the Parliament went in a body to the *Palais-royal*, to supplicate the Queen to set them at liberty. Her Majesty made a resolute refusal, foreseeing the mortal blow which would be given to the Royal Authority, in case she submitted to the caprice of the populace : but the Duke of Orleans and Cardinal Mazarin, being naturally timid, endeavoured only to extricate themselves from the present danger, and engaged the Queen, contrary to her own opinion, to

\* Memoirs of Rochefoucault.

An. 1649. give up the two prisoners. From that day, the Parliament gathered fresh strength against the Court ; and several persons of the highest quality declared for the Fronde.

The Coadjutor assembles and animates the chiefs of the Frondeurs.


The Coadjutor, overjoyed that he had found an opportunity to engage in intrigues, was walking through the streets of Paris the very day the barricades were set up, in his pontifical vestments, followed by a long train of ecclesiastics dressed in their surplices, as though he imagined he could lay the storm by giving his blessing round. He went to the *Palais-royal* to offer his services, but had no reason to be pleased with the reception he met with. Seeing himself exposed to the raillery of the courtiers, the ironical compassion of the Cardinal, and the loud laughter of the Queen, he came away exasperated, desperate, and fully resolved to revenge the Court scoffs, on the government and his country. *The raillery of the Court*, says he, *purged me of all crimes*. Notwithstanding his great presumption, he yet did not think he had credit enough to get to be head of the party. He therefore sought for a chief who might owe that post to him, and under whose name, he himself might be in reality the ringleader. The Prince of Conde having repulsed him, he turned his views towards his brother the Prince of Conti, who had been designed for the Church ; but whose birth alone, was capable of giving great authority, in a Kingdom like that of France.


List of the chiefs of the Frondeurs, and their views.

The Prince of Conti, brought over by the Coadjutor, declared himself the chief of the *Fronde*, and was followed by several other Princes, who engaged in it from different motives : Henry of Orleans \*, Duke de Longueville, because the Cardinal had refused him the Government of Havre de Grace, the only town he wanted, in order to be absolute

\* He was descended from the famous Count de Dunois, bastard of the Duke of Orleans, great grandfather to Francis I.



Master of that province: Francis de Vendome, An. 1649.  
Duke of Beaufort, out of hatred to the Minister,   
who had imprisoned him in the very beginning of  
the Regency: Charles of Lorraine, Duke d'Elbœuf,  
from the hopes that he himself should find means to  
govern singly the whole party. Frederic-Maurice,  
Duke of Bouillon, who was returned from Rome  
two years before, ought to have been proof against  
the seducing arts then practised. He possessed, in  
an eminent degree, all the qualities necessary to  
discern the good cause, and to support it; be-  
sides, he had suffered in the affair of Count de Soif-  
sons and that of Cinqmars, more than was sufficient  
to give him for ever a disgust to factions: but,  
the unhappy situation of his affairs, and the slowness  
with which the exchange of Sedan was carried on,  
prompted him to listen to the arguments of the Coad-  
jutor and of Longueil: besides, the Duchess of Bou-  
illon, who was accused of having a Spanish heart,  
urged him to break with the Court, by exhibiting to  
him greater advantages to be expected with regard  
to his House, from Spain, than he could hope for  
from France. He could not resist the sollicitati-  
ons of a woman, of whom Cardinal de Retz says,  
“ That had she been as sincere as she was witty,  
“ beautiful, affable and virtuous, she would have  
“ been a finished wonder.” To these prime chiefs  
of the Fronde, were joined the Duke de Brisac, be-  
cause of his relation with the Coadjutor; the Mar-  
quis de Vitri, out of disgust for being refused his  
father's commission, which was granted him after-  
wards; Marshal de la Motte-Houdancourt, out of  
revenge for his having been imprisoned four years by  
the Court; the Duke de la Tremoille, at the in-  
stigation of his mother, sister to the Duke of Bouil-  
lon; Louis de la Tremoille, Marquis de Noirmon-  
tier, out of hatred to the Prince of Condé, who  
had treated him but indifferently at the battle of  
Lens :

An. 1649. Lens ; the Duke of Luines, from a religious zeal  for the opinions he had imbibed ; lastly, the Duke de la Rochefocault, out of affection for the Duchesse of Longueville. Love often unites with politicks, and women contribute very near as much as men to the revolution of States. The *Fronde* had its heroines ; the Duchesses of Longueville, Chevreuse and Montbafon, distinguished themselves in it ; and the Princess Palatine, who for her political abilities, deserved to be compared with Queen Elizabeth of England, went afterwards in to the same faction.

The Prince of Condé declares for the Court against the *Frondeurs*.

The Court seeing the storm, and the number of its enemies increase in this manner, placed its whole confidence in the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé ; and imagined, that their union with the King and Queen would defeat all the measures which the *Frondeurs* had taken. The Prime Minister had won over the former, by means of the Abbot de la Riviere, who, from being an obsequious attendant, was become entire master of that Prince. This ambitious Abbot was flattered by the hopes of having a Cardinal's hat, for which he was so bold as to contest with the Prince of Conti. The Court was particularly studious to please the Prince of Condé ; his strength of mind, his reputation in war, and the splendor of his victories, qualified him better than any other person, to check the contagious evil of sedition, and strike terror into the boldest. The Cardinal represented to him, that the Parliament would invade, by insensible degrees, the whole authority of the Kingdom ; that this body would assume, not only the right of deposing the Prime Minister, but also that of taking cognisance of military affairs ; that, in case these usurpations were not opposed, it perhaps would go as great lengths as the Parliament of England, and would extend its power so as to prescribe laws to its

its Masters : that if any abuses had been committed, the Parliament ought by humble remonstrances to apply to the King for a reformation of them, in whom alone the sovereign legislative power resides ; and lastly, that the Prince, for his own sake, should crush an enterprize which tended to the destruction of the Royal Family. These representations made a strong impression on the Prince, so that he declared immediately for what was right, and accompanied the Duke of Orleans to the Parliament. A superior genius is ever in extremes, let the cause which he espouses be good or bad. Scarce had the President Viole, with an air of enthusiasm, invoked the Holy Ghost, to enlighten the understandings of those Princes, but Condé rose up, and commanded him to be silent ; the young counsellors murmured : the Prince was provoked at this noise, and threaten'd them with his hand as well as voice. That instant he lost the affection of the Parliament, and the people's love began to cool.

From this time, Condé employ'd all his thoughts to reduce the Parliament by force of arms. 'Twas suggested to him, that the surest and most expeditious way would be, to besiege Paris ; that if he seized upon all the avenues, and hinder'd the entrance of provisions, the populace, out of fear that they should be starved, would turn against the Parliament, and look upon it as the sole cause of all their calamities. The Prince approved of this extraordinary proposal, because he had given a loose to his anger, which consider'd nothing as impossible, and so resolved to block up Paris. Immediately the King, all his household, Cardinal Mazarin, and the Ministers of State, went to St. Germain en Laye. This departure, or rather this flight, pleased the faction, and was censured by wise people, as unworthy of Majesty. The inhabitants of Paris exclaimed against all those who

The Court  
leaves Paris.

M

had

An 1649. had advised it, and 'twas called, *L'enlèvement du Roi*, or *the forcible carrying off of the King*.

Blockade of Paris, and a general revolution in the Provinces. In the mean time the Prince, with six or seven thousand men, blocked up Paris, and seized upon all the places round it, whence the city might be furnished with provisions. The Parliament, on the other side, nominated the Prince of Conti Generalissimo of their forces; the Dukes d'Elbeuf and de Beaufort, the Duke of Bouillon and Marshal de la Motte, Generals under him; the Dukes de Brissac and de Luines, the Marquisses de Vitri and de Noirmontier, as Lieutenant Generals under them. The instant Paris had declared, the rest of the Kingdom began to move. The Parliament wrote letters to all the cities and superior courts, to invite them to unite with it against the common enemy; for thus they entitled the Prime Minister. The fire of discord soon spread itself into all the Provinces; Guyenne, Provence, Normandy, and several cities, join'd with the Parliament of Paris.

The Queen writes to Viscount de Turenne, to sound his dispositions.

In these great disorders, Mazarin had recourse to the Viscount de Turenne, who was in the army in Germany, and sent to sound his inclinations. The Queen, the Prince of Condé, and the Cardinal wrote several times to the Viscount, to inform him of the error which the Duke of Bouillon had committed, and to complain of it. Her Majesty, in the several letters she writ to him, gave him the strongest and most tender assurances of her friendship and esteem, and promised very solemnly to reward his services\*.

The Cardinal's letter to the Viscount.

The Cardinal's letters ran in a higher strain than those of her Majesty. “ I never, said he to him, “ felt a more sensible displeasure, than when I “ heard the error which the Duke of Bouillon has “ committed, who, at last, has declared for the Parliament against the King. I was so much the “ more astonished at it, as he knew that you are to

\* See the Authorities, No. IV.

“ have



“ have the command of the army in Flanders this An. 1646.  
 “ year : That his Majesty had given you the Go-  
 “ vernment of Alsace, and other valuable employ-  
 “ ments ; that, with regard to the exchange of  
 “ Sedan, the Court waited only till the Duke of  
 “ Orleans, eas’d of the gout, should be able to  
 “ assist at the Council, in which the last hand would  
 “ be put to that affair, and very much to his ad-  
 “ vantage ; and that with regard to the honours of  
 “ your House, his Majesty would satisfy him also.  
 “ Nothing is so true, as that the esteem and passion  
 “ I have for you and all things in which your in-  
 “ terest is concern’d, are carried to as high a pitch  
 “ as they can possibly be for any person : and on this  
 “ occasion, I cannot forbear observing to you, that  
 “ ’tis no ill proof of my esteem and affection, when  
 “ the Duke of Modena and Prince Casimir, now  
 “ King of Poland, were both very urgent to marry the  
 “ eldest of my nieces, (not to mention the addresses  
 “ made by most of the Princes and Lords of the  
 “ greatest distinction in the Kingdom) I yet courted  
 “ you, and did all I could to bestow her upon you.  
 “ You are very well persuaded, that it was neither  
 “ your estate nor employments, which made me de-  
 “ sirous of this match. The declaration I here  
 “ make in writing, is not very much to my advan-  
 “ tage : but I could not forbear making it, and  
 “ even with pleasure ; since it will serve, at least,  
 “ to prove the falseness of those, who have dared  
 “ to assure you by letter, that I had no kindness  
 “ or affection for you. You will receive a grant  
 “ for the Government of Alsace, and dispatches for  
 “ the Bailiwicks of Haguenau and of Tanc. I write  
 “ at the same time to the Sieur Hervart, ordering  
 “ him to employ all his credit and that of his  
 “ friends, to raise immediately a fund wherewith  
 “ to give some satisfaction to the Officers of the ar-  
 “ my, and I doubt not but he will obey implicitly,

An. 1649. “ and without the least hesitation, all your com-  
 ~~~~~ “ mands.”

The Vis-  
 count's an-  
 swer to the  
 Court and  
 the Cardinal.

Hervart, afterwards Comptroller-General, was commanded to deliver these letters and grants to the Viscount de Turenne. The Marquis de Ruvigni, his intimate friend, was likewise sent to him ; but the pressing instances of this friend met with no more success than the offers and promises of the Court. Turenne courageously answered the Queen and the Prince of Condé, that he could not accept of any employment till the troubles were appeased ; and wrote to the Cardinal, “ \* That this was  
 “ not a season for him to think of his private in-  
 “ terest : that he was greatly obliged to his Emi-  
 “ nence, for the design he had to bestow one of  
 “ his nieces upon him in marriage ; but that reli-  
 “ gion was a direct obstacle to it : that he was ex-  
 “ tremely sorry to hear of the disorders which reign-  
 “ ed in Paris, and the share his brother had in them :  
 “ and that he would never do any thing which  
 “ should interfere with the fidelity he owed his Ma-  
 “ jesty.” In another letter, he did not scruple to observe to him, “ That he look'd upon the block-  
 “ ade of Paris as a very bold step during a mino-  
 “ rity : that he could not approve it ; and that, if  
 “ the Cardinal continued to use the people with so  
 “ much severity, he must not expect he would be  
 “ any longer his friend : that he was going to cross  
 “ the Rhine with his army, pursuant to the orders  
 “ he had received from Court to march back his  
 “ troops into France after the conclusion of the  
 “ peace ; but that, upon his arrival at Paris, he  
 “ would not favour either the rebellion of the Par-  
 “ liament, or the injustice of the Prime Minister.”

The Vis-  
 count de-  
 clares his  
 intentions to  
 the army.

The Viscount, full of the sentiments he expressed to the Cardinal, assembled the Officers of his army, and laid before them the deplorable con-

\* MSS. Mem. of Viscount de Turenne, and his letters to Cardinal Mazarin.

dition of France ; exhorted them to follow him, and declared to them, that he marched with no other view than to supplicate the King to return to Paris, to make the Cardinal give an account of his administration, to pay the Weymarians the sums due to them, and to reward the French troops who had served under him. This discourse was followed by a Manifesto he published, to shew the rectitude of his intentions.

The Court being now no longer able to doubt of the Viscount's dispositions, sent express orders to the army, not to acknowledge him any longer as their General ; and caus'd three hundred thousand crowns to be distributed among the troops, promising, at the same time, to give them the six months pay due to them. Half of the army was wrought upon, six regiments whereof marched to Brisac, and three more to Philipsburg; the other half, tho' very wavering, continuing still with the Viscount. Turenne, when he found the troops were satisfied, and that he could not put in execution the pacific designs he had proposed, ordered the General Officers to march the rest of the army to join D'Erlac, to whom the Court had sent a commission to command the forces ; and after divesting himself of the Generalship, and exhorting the Officers to obedience, he retir'd with fifteen or twenty of his friends into Holland, to reside there till the troubles should be pacified.

His Majesty's troops had already seized upon all the posts in the neighbourhood of Paris, Charenton excepted. The Prince of Conti had possessed himself of this town ; had fortified, and thrown three thousand men into it ; it was the only road by which provisions were carried to the capital. The Prince of Condé marched to attack it the eighth of February, and carried it in sight of the Parliament's forces, and ten thousand Parisians under arms, who

An. 1649.  
He retires  
into Holland.  
Peace of  
Ruel.

An. 1649. were but mere spectators of his victory. This action, and some others, equally disadvantageous to the party, added to the Viscount's retreat, inspired the chiefs of the rebellion with pacific sentiments. All the Generals, the Duke de Beaufort excepted, who could not suppress the hatred he bore to the Cardinal, cast about each to make his private peace, and every one held a secret correspondence with some of the Court-party. Deputies were nominated on each side; conferences were held at Ruel; and notwithstanding the uninterrupted intrigues of the Coadjutor, a professed enemy to peace, it was at length agreed, that the Court should grant a general pardon; and that all declarations made since the day of the barricades, should be revoked and annulled. The Prince of Conti had the government of Damvilliers; the Duke de Longueville that of Pont-de-l'arche; the Marquis de Noirmontier a patent of Duke; and Broussel was appointed Governor of the Bastille. His Majesty declared at the same time, that in exchange for the Principalities of Sedan, he would immediately give the Duke of Bouillon an equivalent for that Sovereignty in lands of his own demesnes; that the promise which had been made him, with regard to rank, should be punctually executed; that in the disposal of the command of armies, his Majesty would shew a regard to the merit, services and birth of the Viscount de Turenne. In execution of this article, the King gave a Brevet, by which it was decreed, that the Duke of Bouillon, the Viscount de Turenne, and their descendants, should have in France, the rank of Princes descended from a Sovereign House\*.

The Viscount returns to Paris.

Upon the faith of what had been done at Ruel, the Viscount left Holland, landed at Dieppe, came post to Paris, and went two days after to the Court, which was at Compeigne, where the Car-

\* See the Authorities, N. V.



dinal (resolved to dissemble all) procured him a very gracious reception. Such was the issue of the first war of Paris: neither of the two parties gain'd its end. The Cardinal and the Parliament preserved all their authority, the former at the Court, the latter over the people †.

The brand of civil discord, far from being extinguished by this peace, was going to be lighted up again, by a misunderstanding, which broke out between the Prince of Condé and Cardinal Mazarin. As the Prime Minister had reaped the benefit of the exploits and protection of the Prince, he was for ever exposed to the demands, complaints and menaces of Condé. Small services sooth, but great ones oppress; they give too great an ascendant over the person who has received them; such is the false delicacy of self-love. The duration of gratitude depends more on the esteem conceived for the benefactor, than on the greatness of the benefit. The estrangement between the Prince and the Prime Minister increased daily; but the refusal the Prince met with of those employments he asked, was not the cause of their rupture. If Condé desired favours from the Court, he desired yet more to merit them. Provoked by the perpetual contradictions he met with, he vented his anger publicly in bitter raileries upon Mazarin, whose resentments were the more violent, as he carefully kept them in. The Cardinal endeavour'd by various means to soften him; but finding he could not hope to obtain his friendship, he resolved to labour for his destruction. At the time that he deluded him with the hopes of new employments, he endeavoured to win over such persons as might be of greatest service to him. For this purpose he address'd himself particularly to the Duke de Bouillon, and to the Viscount de Turenne,

Origin of the misunderstanding between Cardinal Mazarin and the Prince of Condé.

† Sec Labadæus de bello civili & Priolo.

An. 1649. believing\* that they would be able to support him by their counsels and their valour.

Imprison-  
ment of the  
Prince.

The Prince of Condé perceiv'd the Cardinal's machinations and insincerity ; for which reason, to draw over the *Fronde* to his party, he reconciled himself to his brother, his sister and the Duke de Longueville : but the other chiefs of the *Frondeurs*, finding that he made his court to them, merely to render them subservient to his passions, fell off from him insensibly. After some months spent in intrigues, the Prince, now highly exasperated, quarrelled openly with them ; and, hoping to make himself leader of the *Fronde*, he, in order to drive them from Paris, charged them with a design against his life ; the assassination of one of his domestics in his coach serving him for a proof. From that moment all the Coadjutor's hatred was roused, and his vindictive temper broke out with fury against the Prince. The present juncture of affairs was favourable to the ambitious Prelate. The Court was desirous of winning him back, and was in so much the more dread of Condé, as he now lived in the strictest friendship with his brother the Prince of Conti, and his brother-in-law the Duke de Longueville. The result of the frequent conferences between the Coadjutor, the Queen, and the Cardinal, was, that the Princes should be seized. But to put this in execution, it was absolutely necessary to obtain the consent of the Duke of Orleans, Lieutenant General of the Regency. The Duke was governed by Abbot de la Riviere : the Abbot was devoted to the Prince of Condé, and inclined the Duke of Orleans to follow, implicitly, all the sentiments of the Prince, from the time that the latter had promised him the Cardinal's hat designed for the Prince of Conti. The Coadjutor, ever more capable of destroying than building up, soon found means to ruin the favourite in the mind of his Master,

Master, and to assume, himself, an ascendant over An. 1650.  
 the Duke of Orleans. In the mean time Condé, full of confidence, continued to treat the Cardinal without any ceremony or regard, and to exasperate the Frondeurs to the utmost; acting with as much security as though he had lived in the midst of his friends. But at length, the eighteenth of January, the three Princes being come, at the usual hour, to council, in the *Palais Royal*, were seized by Guittaut, Captain of the Queen's guards, and carried to the castle of Vincennes. At this news, all the Prince of Condé's friends disappeared; the Duchess de Longueville set out that very evening for Normandy, with a guard of threescore horse, commanded by the Duke de la Rochefoucault: the Duke of Bouillon made for Turenne: the Marquis de Boutteville, afterwards Duke of Luxembourg, and many more went into Burgundy. The inhabitants of Paris, when the Duke of Beaufort and the Coadjutor kept constant in the hatred they had conceived against the Prince, ever since the blockade of their City, made public rejoycings upon his being imprisoned. They lighted bonfires in several parts of Paris, and most people said, that the Cardinal, after such a blow, *was no longer* Mazarin.

The Princes were no sooner imprisoned, but the Cardinal sent the Marquis de Ruvigni to the Viscount de Turenne, to assure him of his friendship, to invest him with the command of the army of Flanders, to offer him again one of his nieces in marriage, and to give him the strongest assurances that he would, henceforward, share his fortune with him. The Viscount, who never squared his friendship by prosperity or adversity, rejected all these offers. Touched with the misfortunes of Condé; persuaded that in preventing the sacrifice of a hero of the blood of France, he should do service to his country; prepossessed with the false notion, that war might

The Viscount declares for the Prince of Condé.

An. 1650. might be made against the Cardinal, without fighting against the King, and with several other maxims which were authorized at that time, upon the specious pretence of the public good, he gave way to the impulses of his generous nature, and resolved to set the Princes at liberty, whatever might be the consequence. His motives were the less to be suspected, as Condé, so far from courting his friendship, before his imprisonment, had very much neglected it, and had concealed from him all his secret machinations against the Court. The Viscount judged that it would be mean in him to abandon the Prince; and fancying himself no more than a generous friend, became an undutiful subject.

The Viscount leaves Paris, and retires to Stenai with the Dukes of Longueville.

He left Paris in February, and went to Stenai \*, a strong place in Champaign, belonging to the Prince of Condé. The Dukes of Longueville came hither to him, after having endeavoured, but in vain, to raise an insurrection in Normandy. An amiable, witty and unfortunate Princess, must have been very capable of engaging in her interests a hero, whom virtue and war never rendered insensible. 'Tis pretended, that love for the sister contributed as much to the false steps the Viscount took, as friendship for the brother.

The Viscount assembles forces, in order to free the Princes.

The Cardinal sent a second time to try to gain Turenne by new offers; but nothing could move him. The Viscount sold his plate, and the Dukes de Longueville her jewels, to raise forces. At the same time he solicited those which he believed were devoted to the Prince of Condé, and such Governors as were disgusted with the Court, to join with him; but he could not bring over above twenty or thirty officers. He then addressed himself to the regiments which had served under him in Germany, but brought over those only of Tu-

\* The Court had given this place, as also Jametz and Clermont to the Prince, as a reward for the services he had done the Crown.

renne,



renne, la Couronne, and du Passage, with part of that An. 1650.  
 of the Marquis de Beauvau, who was always the Viscount's friend. These troops were quartered round about Stenai; and he threw into the citadel eight companies of Turenne's regiment, who guarded it till the Princes were set at liberty.

Some days after, the King's forces, commanded by the Marquis de Ferté-Senneterre, attacked those of the Viscount, defeated the regiment of du Passage, and laid waste all the country round. Turenne, now going to be over-powered, was forced to have recourse to the Spaniards. He obtained immediately, from the Governor of Montmedi, fifteen hundred horse, and some companies of foot, till such time as the treaty, which himself and the Dukes of Longueville were negotiating with the Archduke, might be concluded. The Count de Fuensaldagne came, in the name of that Prince, to the city of Marche, to confer with Turenne \*. The Archduke began, by requiring the city and citadel of Stenai to be put into his hands; but the Viscount refused to give up the latter, he having been always resolved to unite no longer with the Spaniards, than the promise he had made to endeavour at the liberty of the Princes should force him to it; besides, he was desirous of being himself possessed of a strong hold, into which he might retire in all seasons, be his own master, and not subject to the Spaniards. After six weeks conference in Marche, in which nothing was agreed upon, Don Gabriel de Toledo having been sent to Stenai, concluded the treaty there. The chief articles were, that his Catholic Majesty should furnish two hundred thousand crowns for raising of troops, and fifty thousand crowns a month for their maintenance; that he should pay threescore thousand crowns a year to the Dukes of Longueville and the Viscount de Turenne, for their private expences,

The Spaniards send him succours, and treat with him.

April 21

\* See the Viscount's memoirs.

and

An. 1640. and those of her friends ; that he should reinforce the troops which the Viscount was to raise, with two thousand foot, and three thousand effective horse, armed and maintained at the King's expence ; that he should not come to an accommodation with France, unless such friends of the Princes, as had been dispossessed of their estates, employments or dignities, were entirely restored to them ; that he should garrison such frontier towns as should be taken ; but that with regard to those which should be seized within the Kingdom, they should be guarded by the Viscount's troops ; that the Duchess of Longueville and the Viscount should give up to his Catholic Majesty the city of Stenai, the citadel excepted, as soon as this should be required ; and lastly, that if the Princes should be set at liberty, before a peace was concluded between the two Crowns, they should take up arms with their adherents, and employ all their credit, and all their force to procure a safe and honourable peace between France and Spain.

The Viscount writes to the Queen.

After the signing of this treaty, which was ratified the twenty second of May, by the King of Spain, Viscount de Turenne writ a letter to her Majesty, in which he represented, very respectfully, “ That she abandoned herself too implicitly to  
 “ the counsels of Mazarin ; that in imprisoning the  
 “ Prince of Condé, whose birth entitled him to one  
 “ of the chief seats in the Council, during the minority, she had made a too rigorous use of her  
 “ authority ; that the only motive of the Prime  
 “ Minister's disgust against the Prince, and those  
 “ of his party, was, because they endeavoured to  
 “ put an end to a cruel war, between two Kings,  
 “ brother and son to the Queen.” Though all the reasons he offers in this letter, are founded upon false principles, yet there appears in it a wonderful candor and nobleness of spirit, and a perfect disinterestedness. We find there the sentiments of a hero,

hero, but of a hero under an illusion. He concludes with these words, which shew the high idea he entertained of the great Condé. “ A Prince who has so often ventured his life, and been lavish of his blood at the head of your armies, to make your name formidable to all your enemies, and with no other motive than to enlarge your frontiers, as he has already done, by so many strong and important cities taken, and whole Provinces conquered by him, seems to have acquired a right to counsel you, in the cabinet, to peace, without being suspected, of holding a correspondence with your enemies, or being wanting in respect to your Majesty. Give him, therefore, Madam, an opportunity of joining in so noble a work, for otherwise his oppressed innocence will add to the war between the two Crowns, a civil and intestine war, in which you will see your subjects tear one another to pieces, and that properly for the quarrel of a private foreigner against a Prince of the Blood of France, &c.”

\* The troops were no sooner assembled, but the Spaniards would engage the Viscount to march an army into Champaign, whilst they themselves should be in motion with another in Picardy ; but he suspecting they had a design to recover the cities on the frontiers, which had been conquered by the French, refused to separate, and insisted peremptorily upon their marching the united armies into France, to give him the better opportunity of setting the Princes at liberty, and procuring a general peace. By this firmness, he prevented the loss of those conquests the King had made in Flanders, employ'd the Spaniards elsewhere, and endeavoured to bring them into the heart of the Kingdom, in which all the cities that should be taken, were to be

The Viscount's fidelity to his country, at the time he was disgusted.

\* Duke of York's memoirs.

An. 1650. entirely at his command : and, in this manner, was he careful of his country's interest, at the same time that he had taken up arms against it. † The Spaniards debated, in full council, whether they should trust him with the command of their troops ; and resolved to do this, from the knowledge they had of his innate probity ; though he had no other pledge to give them than his promises.

He heads the  
Spanish  
troops, and  
besieges La  
Câtelet and  
Guise.

About the middle of June, he put himself at the head of the Spanish army, composed of seventeen or eighteen thousand men ; they laid siege to Le Câtelet, a small town at the source of the Scheld. They first won the suburbs ; and making a lodgment on the counterscarp, attacked the place with so much vigour, that the third day from the opening of the siege, the peasants, who had fled into it for refuge, with their wives, their children, and their effects, mutiny'd, and forced the Governor to surrender. About the end of the siege the Archduke, who was in Brussels, uneasy at seeing the Spanish troops under the command of a French General, and in France too, came to the camp, and immediately after the taking of Câtelet, laid siege to Guise, and opened the trenches in three different places. The miners were got to the walls, and the inhabitants fearing the city would be stormed, abandoned it, and retired, with their effects, into the castle. Against this the Spaniards then turned their whole force, and after having sprung a mine, imagined they might attempt a storm ; but by the rubbish from the walls, the place, which was steep, was rendered still more inaccessible. During this interval, Marshal du Plessis-Praslin, appointed General of the French army, by the King, who was come to Compiègne, posted himself between Landrecies and the camp of the besiegers, to cut off their provisions ; and he inter-


† Mem. de Frem, d'Ablanc. & de Langlade.



cepted a very considerable convoy. The roads An. 1650. were grown very bad, occasioned by the heavy rains; and the Spaniards, for want of horses, being unable to bring any provisions to their camp, so great a scarcity ensued, that they were forced to raise the siege, and seek for provisions towards La Capelle. The Archduke and the Viscount besieged this town about the beginning of August, and taking it in ten days, they crossed the river Oise.

Turenne was desirous of marching directly to Paris; but the Spaniards refusing to go, he drew near Vervins with a detachment of two thousand horse, to observe the King's army, which was at Marle. He was soon master of the whole country, by the retreat of Marshal du Pleffis-Praslin, who had entrenched himself behind the morasses of Notre Dame de Liesse, and he seized upon Rhetel, Chateau, Porcien and Neufchatel. Then leaving, near the last named town, the Spanish forces, who again refused to follow him, he crossed the river Aine at the head of three thousand horse and five hundred musketeers, and marched towards Paris. Marquis d'Hocquincourt was at Fimes, covered by the river Vêle, with ten regiments of horse, and an hundred musketeers. The Viscount defeated him, took four or five hundred prisoners, and obliged him to retire to Soissons. Knowing that the King's army was advanced as far as Rheims, he posted a body of troops behind the Marne, and another at la Ferté-Milon, in order to seize upon all the passes. He intended to go next day and invest the castle of Vincennes, in hopes to deliver the Princes; and doubtless would have set them at liberty, had not the Court already convey'd them to Marcouffi, eight leagues from Paris, in the road to Orleans. Failing in his attempt, he returned back, repassed the river Aine, and rejoined with the Spanish army.

He enters  
France to  
set the Prin-  
ces at liberty.

An. 1645. And now some propofals were made for peace.  Don Gabriel de Toledo went to Paris, and the troops continued unactive, during a month, at Fimes, whither the Court had fent Marquis de Verderonne. As the negotiations proved abortive, the Archduke held a council, to confider which of the frontier cities it would be proper to befiege. The Spaniards were defirous of marching to Rocroi, but the Vifcount prevailed with them to prefer Moufon, the taking of which might preferve Stenai, this being but two leagues from it, and would extend the winter quarters farther, the feafon of which was now approaching. About the end of September Moufon was invefted, but the continuance of the rains, and the few ordnance that the Spaniards had, retarded the taking of this town till the middle of November. The Spanifh army, which had been very much weakened, and harrafled, by the length of the fiege, took up their winter quarters in Flanders. The Vifcount endeavoured, in vain, to keep them with him ; fo that he was obliged to continue with only eight thoufand men upon the frontiers, between the Aïne and the Meufe, to guard the feveral towns he had taken.

Negotiations  
for Peace.  
Moufon be-  
fieged and  
taken.

The Dukes  
de Bouillon  
and de la  
Rochefou-  
cault declare  
for the  
Princes.

Whilst the Vifcount was thus fighting to free the Princes, the Duke of Bouillon had taken up arms in the fame caufe at Turenne, whither he withdrew immediately after their imprifonment. The Duke had engaged the year before, in the ftrictest friendfhip with Condé, from the hopes that the credit of this Prince would be great enough to complete the exchange of Sedan. Upon advice of the Duke's motions in Turenne, the Court feized, at his houfe in Paris, the Duchefs his Lady, and Charlotte de la Tour his fifter, who having efcaped through the vent-hole of a cellar, were taken a fecond time and carried to the Baftille. Their confinement, fo far from bringing over the Duke, as the Court had hoped,

exaspe-

exasperated him the more, and engaged him to declare openly for the Princes. The Duke of Rochefoucault, who had left the Duchess of Longueville at Dieppe, was gone to his Government of Poitou, to prepare the minds of its inhabitants for rebellion. Under the pretext of his father's interment, he had assembled the Gentlemen and his vassals, to the number of 2000 horse and 600 foot; but hearing that Marshal de la Meilleraie was ordered to march against him, he fled for protection to the Duke of Bouillon in Turenne, where they concerted measures to engage the Bourdelois \* to take up arms again. There had been commotions the year before in Guyenne, occasioned by the proceedings of the Duke d'Epernon, who was Governor of it. D'Epernon, proud of being born of a mother, who descended from the last Earls of Foix, and of the court which Cardinal Mazarin paid to the Duke of Candale his son, to engage him to marry Anna-Maria Martinozzi, the Cardinal's niece; had behaved with insupportable pride towards the Gentry and the Parliament, who excited the Bourdelois against him, and drove him from their city. Although the treaty concluded at Ruel seemed to have quieted these feuds, there yet remained, with regard to the Duke d'Epernon, a spirit of diffidence which the Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault took advantage of, to engage the Bourdelois to declare in favour of the Princes; and they were so much the less averse to this, as, according to all the Court manifestos, the greatest crime laid to the Prince of Condé, was his having supported vigorously the interests of the Bourdelois, in opposition to the Duke d'Epernon.

To give the greater credit and lustre to this rebellion, and to animate the zeal of the Gascoins, the Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault solicited the Princess of Condé, who with her son the Duke

*The Princess of Condé and the Duke d'Enguien arrive at Turenne, and go from thence to Bourdeaux.*

\* The natives of Bourdeaux and the country round it.

An. 1650. d'Enguien, an infant, had fled to Montrond in Berry, to leave her asylum and come to Turenne, whence they would conduct her to Bourdeaux. Accordingly the Princess set out, and the Dukes coming to meet her with eight squadrons, conducted her to Turenne. She staid a week in this city, during which the Duke of Bouillon, though in very unhappy circumstances, treated her with magnificence. Her stay, which was necessary to animate the Bourdelois still more, gave the Chevalier de la Valette an opportunity of marching with a large detachment of the King's army to the road which the Princess was to pass, in order to intercept her. The Duke of Bouillon being informed of this, got together by ringing the alarm-bell, all the inhabitants of the Viscounty, and formed a body of near 2500 men, 400 of whom were Gentlemen. He placed the Princess and the Duke d'Enguien in the centre of this little army, and marched directly to Montfort, where he was joined by 1500 men, troopers or foot soldiers. The Chevalier de la Valette, fearing he should be intercepted, retired with the utmost diligence: nevertheless, in spite of all his haste, he was overtaken at Montelard in Perigord, whence, running away without once engaging, he escaped to Bergerac, but lost all his baggage. The Princess went forwards towards Bourdeaux, where the inhabitants received her with the highest testimonies of joy. Though the Parliament and the Sheriffs did not wait upon her in their formalities, there were very few but gave her the strongest assurances of being at her devotion.

The Court  
comes near  
to Bour-  
deaux.

The Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault, tho' it was opposed by the adherents of Duke d'Epernon, were received in the city two days after. The Court, hearing of the late transactions, caused Marshal de la Meilleraie to march his army towards Bourdeaux; and the King, leaving Paris under the command



command of the Duke of Orleans, set out with the An. 1647. Queen, the Cardinal, and the whole Court. The Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault, who had assembled in a very short time, near 3000 foot and 7 or 800 horse, had possessed themselves of Castelnau, four leagues from Bourdeaux, and would have advanced still farther, had they not heard of the approach of Marshal de la Meilleraie, and that of Duke d'Epemon, who had joined his troops to those of the Chevalier de la Valette. On these advices, the Princess sent the Marquisses de Silleri and Sauvebœuf to Spain, with full powers to treat with his Catholick Majesty, in the same manner as the Dukes de Longueville and Viscount de Turenne had done before, with regard to the liberty of the Princes, and the conclusion of a peace between the two Crowns.

The Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault, after having left a garrison in Castelnau, posted the rest of the forces at Blanquefort, two leagues from Bourdeaux. Here Duke d'Epemon came and attacked their quarters, where Chambon a Major General, commanded in their absence. Chambon, being unable to defend the entrance of his quarters against Duke d'Epemon's army, because of its superiority, retreated in good order, by means of the morasses and canals with which he was surrounded. Then the Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault, hurried along by the impetuosity of the populace, ran with a great number of the townsmen, and having joined their forces, returned to combat Duke d'Epemon; but being stopt by the same canals, they had no opportunity to engage, so that only a few skirmishes were fought, in which the Duke lost the greatest number of men. Whilst his Majesty's forces advanced nearer every day to Bourdeaux, the King arrived at Libourne, besieged the castle of Vaire on the Dordogne, and hanged the Governor of it, who had surrendered at

An. 1650. discretion. But to encourage the Bourdelois, who were intimidated and wavering, the rebels hung up by way of reprisal the Baron de Canole \*, taken in Fort St. George. of which he was Commander. This bold action surpris'd the Court, exasperated the Queen, and gave fresh spirits to the Bourdelois, who now resolv'd to stand out a siege. In this view they rais'd, with the utmost diligence, a fort of four small bastions opposite to Bourdeaux, on the other side of the river, and labour'd very industriously to fortify the city on every other side. 'Twas agreeable to the rules of war, that they should burn and rase the houses of the suburb call'd St. Surin, which was open on every side, and difficult to maintain; but the citizens, who were masters on this occasion, oppos'd it. Endeavours were therefore us'd to preserve the suburb; and, to cover the gate call'd Digeau, which stood nearest it, they were oblig'd, for want of other fortifications, to make use of a little eminence compos'd of filth and rubbish, which, being in the shape of a half-moon †, without either parapet or ditch, prov'd nevertheless the strongest defence of the place.

Particular  
account of  
the siege of  
Bourdeaux.

Cardinal Mazarin, leaving the King at Bourg, came to the army, when a resolution was taken to attack the suburb of S. Surin, in hopes of lodging themselves the very first day, at the gate call'd Digeau, the half-moon of which, 'twas suppos'd, could be easily carried. Marshal de la Meilleraie commanded Palluau to cut off the communication between the suburb and the city, whilst he himself should attack the barricades and houses of the suburb; but having charg'd before Palluau was come up, he met with greater resistance than he had imagin'd. The musketeers, who were post'd in the hedges

\* This is his name, in Labard's Hist. B. 8. and *Canot*, in Lenet's Memoir. 2. pag. 93.

† Lenet in Vol. II. pag. 287 of his Memoirs, calls this half-moon a *beap if fikh*.

and vineyards which covered the suburb, first stopt An. 1650.  
the forces of his Majesty, who lost a great number  
of soldiers, and several officers. The Duke of Bou-  
illon was posted in the church-yard of St. Surin,  
with as many of the townsmen as he had been able  
to get together, to relieve the posts ; and the Duke  
of Rochefoucault was at the barricade, this being  
the principal attack. The action was very warm,  
100 or 120 of the townsmen being killed, and seven  
or 800 of the King's troops. Nevertheless, the lat-  
ter forced the barricade, took the suburb, but could  
advance no farther. The Marshal thought it  
necessary to open the trenches, in order to carry  
the half-moon. As it had no ditch, the townsmen  
would not mount guard there, and only shot from  
behind the adjacent walls. The besiegers attacked  
this half-moon three times with the flower of their  
troops, and the Bourdelois made as many sallies, in  
every one of which they scowered the trench and  
burnt the lodgments. The siege, at the thirteenth day,  
was not more advanced than the first. 'Tis surpris-  
ing, that a heap of filth could serve as a fortification  
against 11000 regular troops ; nothing shows more  
evidently, how far the abilities of a General may go  
on those occasions, when all hopes of succour are lost.  
The Duke of Bouillon, by the brave defence he  
made here, and by other well known actions, gave  
proofs of his great skill in the science of war. As  
the Bourdelois had not infantry enough to relieve the  
guards of such posts as were attack'd, and as those  
who were not wounded were too much harrassed in  
fight, Bouillon and Rochefoucault relieved them by  
the troopers who dismounted, and they themselves  
staid in Bourdeaux, in order that their presence  
might prevail with greater numbers to continue there.  
At last Marshal de la Meilleraie carried on the  
trench through the passage which goes from the  
Carthusians to the Archbishoprick, and raised a bat-  
tery

An. 1650. tery of six pieces of canon which ruined the walls of the city.

Pardon and  
peace grant-  
ed to the  
Bourdellois.

October 3.

While these things were doing, the Parliament of Paris sent two officers of the great chamber, to intreat her Majesty to pardon the inhabitants of Guyenne. Having paid their compliments to the Queen, they went immediately to Bourdeaux, represented in the strongest terms to the Parliament and to the townsmen the great danger to which they were exposed, offered themselves as sureties for whatever promises the Queen should make, and at last prevailed with the Bourdellois to sue for peace. Deputies from the city followed the two Counsellors who returned to Bourg; and, after a truce of six days, the twenty ninth of September, a treaty was concluded, by which it was stipulated, that the King should pardon his subjects of Bourdeaux; that the Princess of Condé and the Duke d'Enguien should retire to Montrond; that the Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault should give their parole of honour never to bear arms against the King; and that his Majesty should come into Bourdeaux with only the guards usually attending him, and send away his forces. Immediately, the Princess of Condé and the Prince her son, the Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault left Bourdeaux, and went to Bourg, to pay their compliments to the King and Queen; on their first approaching their Majesties they fell upon their knees, and begged pardon. The Queen received them very graciously, and they dined with Cardinal Mazarin. The conferences they had with his Eminence, to persuade him to set the Princes at liberty and join with them, raised the jealousy of the *Frondeurs*, and afterwards gave occasion to the enlargement of the Princes and the Cardinal's exile. Their Majesties went on board a galley which the Bourdellois had sent them, and made their entry into Bourdeaux, the canon firing, and



and in the midst of publick acclamations. They continued here ten days, during which they restored the first President and the Officers, who refusing to join in the rebellion, had left the city. The fifteenth the Court set out for Fountainbleau, where they arrived about the end of the month. The Minister, proud of his having so happily ended the war of Guyenne, no longer spared the Frondeurs, and caused the three Princes to be conveyed from the castle of Marcouffi to Havre de Grace, whence he thought it would be more difficult for his enemies to rescue them.

The Cardinal being returned to Paris, heard that he was accused of destroying the best troops in the Kingdom before Bourdeaux, at a time when the Spaniards had advanced very far in Champagne. To quiet these murmurs, he formed a design of retaking Rhetel; and having reinforced the troops which came from Guyenne, with those drawn out of the garrisons on the frontiers of Picardy and Champagne, he got together an army of 15 or 16000 men, and gave the command to Marshal du Plessis Praslin, with orders to march and besiege Rhetel.

The Viscount de Turenne had possessed himself of this town in August of the preceding year, and had appointed Degli Ponti Governor of it, who was reputed the most famous warrior of his time for defending cities. He had left a garrison there of about 17 or 1800 men, and conveyed into it a very large quantity of ammunition and provisions. Marshal du Plessis set out from Châlons with his army, and arrived the ninth of December in sight of Rhetel, which he invested the same day. He took up his quarters on both sides of the river Aîne; and, because the season did not permit him to encamp, and that the enemy was at a considerable distance from the town, they did not draw lines of contravallation\*. He presently opened the trenches on the side towards

An. 1650.

The King's troops march to besiege Rhetel.

Nov. 25.

Particulars of the siege of Rhetel.

Dec. 7.

\* Mem. of du Plessis Praslin, pag. 200.

An. 1650. the Capuchins, winding below the citadel, to attack it at the same time with the city. They intended to make a second attack at the suburb of the Minims, getting to the end of the bridge by the other side of the river, and to attempt the gate which was not well flanked. Marshal du Pleſſis was some time in suspense, supposing very justly, that so strong a garrison would not suffer any approaches by a quarter so difficult of access, and to which the only way was by crossing the river Aîne, which was generally pretty rapid, and at that time very much swelled by the rains; however, Cardinal Mazarin arrived in the camp, and fixed the resolution of the Marshal, who immediately gave orders for attacking the suburb. In three days they drove the besieged out of it, crossed an arm of the river, and made a breach in the towers which flanked the gate of the city. As the bridge was broke down, they threw large planks over such beams as were still remaining, which the soldiers went over, mounted the breach, and made a lodgment on it, in spite of the resistance of the besieged. Degli Ponti, whether his courage failed him, or he had been bribed by the Cardinal, who possibly would not have come to the siege had he not been sure of success, demanded to capitulate, and basely surrendered the town the fourth day of the siege, after having wrote word to the Viscount the night before, that he was able to hold out four days longer.

The Viscount comes too late to succour Rhetel.

Turenne, judging that the loss of Rhetel would draw after it the conquest of the several towns he had taken in Champagne, had resolved to succour it at all hazards; but he did not care to arrive there till after it was invested, that he might find the trenches opened, the canon planted on the battery, and the Royal army separated in their quarters round the city; he being far from imagining, that Degli Ponti having so strong a garrison and so well provided, would have made so feeble a resistance.

He

He left the neighbourhood of Mountfacon, between the Meuse and the Aîne, and after marching four days, arrived an hour before sun-set within a league of Rhetel, where some prisoners they took, informed him that the Spanish garrison had just before capitulated, and that Marshal du Pleffis having raised his quarters, upon advice of the Viscount's approach, had drawn them up in one body on the other side of the river. Turenne kept his army in order of battle the whole night, and the next day, being able only to retreat, he returned speedily back, marched four leagues complete without halting once, got to the valley of du Bourg, rested his forces there, and left behind him some Croatian mercenaries, to observe whether he should be pursued. On the other side, Marshal du Pleffis, desirous of forcing the Viscount either to fight or repass the Meuse, made every trooper take some oats, and marched in the night between the fourteenth and fifteenth towards Genneville, where he arrived at day-break, and there received advice, that the Viscount was within three leagues of him. Immediately he set out, and about nine in the morning approached the Spanish army. The Viscount having notice of this by his Croatians, marched immediately out of the valley, possessed himself of an eminence to the left coming from Rhetel, and made two leagues more, whilst the King's army marched on an eminence to the right, on the other side of the valley\*. The thick fog which had prevented their seeing each other's march dispersed, and the two armies perceived one another at the same time. The Viscount still resolving to retire, and the Marshal to fight, each continued his road: so that the two armies marched above a league on two parallel hills, aside of each other, within half the distance of canon-shot. Du Pleffis Praslin fought for some commodious

An. 1650.  
Decem. 15.

\* See the MSS. Mem. of Abbe Raguenet.

An. 1650. spot that might engage Turenne to fight, and had already repented his having let slip several opportunities, which he had neglected with no other view, than in the hopes of meeting with one more advantageous. At last, noon being come, and considering that there would be but little more than three hours sun, he resolved to march down into the valley and attack the Spaniards, for fear they should be gone next morning. He therefore made his army halt, between the village of St. Stephen, and that of Sommepe, in the plain called *le Blanc Champ* (the white field,) and gave orders for its being drawn up in order of battle, whilst he himself went and reconnoitred the bottom of the valley.

The two  
armies draw  
up in order  
of battle.

At this motion, the Viscount found it would be impossible to avoid coming to a battle, tho' the match was not equal. 'Twould be a great advantage to him to continue on the hill ; but 'twould also be no small one to go and attack the Marshal, before all the infantry, which was not yet come up, should have joined the King's army. He was some time in suspense which course to take, but at last he resolved on the latter. Immediately he marched down into the valley, and advanced into the plain of Blanc Champ, with his little army compos'd of Germans, Lorrainers and French, who were, in all, but two thousand five hundred foot, and five thousand five hundred horse. They were soon drawn up in two lines : he posted the Germans on the right wing, commanded by la Fauge ; the Lorrainers under Count de Ligneville on the left wing ; the Marquises de Beauvau, Bouteville, Duras and Montausier with the French squadrons, in the first line of the main body, and the infantry in the center.

Marshal du Pleffis had also drawn up his army in two lines : he had given the command of his right wing to Marquise de Villequier, and that of the left to Marquis d'Hocquincourt ; both Lieutenant Generals ;



nerals: as for the Marshal, he took his post in the center, with the old German Regiments (headed by general Rosen) which had served under Marshal Turenne in the last wars of Germany.

The Viscount took his post at the head of his left wing, and marched against the right wing of Marshal du Pleffis. The Lorrain squadrons having presently doubled, the King's Horse had time to oppose but three squadrons against them. In this disposition, they advanced so near, that the heads of the horses of the two armies touch'd. The Viscount exerted himself with so much vigour, in order to force the Marshal's right wing, that the Lorrain squadrons were very near as much broke as those of the King's army, and in many places they mingled with one another: but at the same time, the Marquisses de Beauvau, Bouteville, Duras, and Montausier, quite routed those who opposed them, and penetrated to the canon. The right wing had not been so successful, for la Fauge, who commanded it, tho' he had some advantage in the first onset, was in the second taken prisoner, and the Germans fled. Marquis d'Hocquincourt, who commanded the left wing of the Royal army, detach'd Rosen with some squadrons to pursue them, led on the remainder of his victorious wing to succour Marshal du Pleffis, and charg'd the Viscount. Both parties fought with great fury: the squadrons on each side were several times broke, rallied afresh, and brought on again to the charge. The battle was long, bloody and obstinate: the canon charged with cartouches, and which the Viscount had plac'd at the head of his battalions, made a dreadful havock in the King's army: at last, Marshal du Pleffis having rallied a third time his squadrons, and joined his first and second lines, first charg'd Turenne with the flower of his two wings, and afterwards extending his right and left, surrounded him in such a manner, that his  
broken

An. 1650.

Battle of  
Rhétel.

An. 1650. broken dispers'd battalions were put to flight. He was abandon'd by his whole army, the regiment of Turenne excepted, which was cut to pieces; and himself, with only la Berge a lieutenant of his guards, were in the midst of the Royal squadrons †. The Viscount was known by eight German troopers, who would have taken him; but la Berge and himself having killed some of them, they disengaged themselves from the rest; and by the greatest good fortune, withdrew from the midst of the French, la Berge crying aloud perpetually, that they belong'd to the Royal army, and had been attack'd by the Germans through mistake. The Viscount could not ride to any great distance, because his horse had received five wounds: but he met Lavaux, an officer of Beauvau's regiment, who gave him his; and the only use he made of it, was, to ride to a place of safety, for there was now no possibility of renewing the combat; the Lorrain and German cavalry, as well as the infantry, were fled, and the artillery was taken, with Don Stephen de Gamarre, who commanded it.

The Viscounts retreat after the loss of the battle.

After this total defeat, the only thing the Viscount had to do was to make a retreat. The shortest way was by the river Aine; but as the King's troops, who were pursuing those that fled, cut off his passage, he was obliged to go by the plains of Champagne. As night drew on, and the Royal forces were extremely fatigued, he arrived without any obstacle at Bar-le-Duc, with 150 horse. Here Marquis de Duras came up with a hundred more; and the Viscount having order'd him to march both bodies into Luxembourg, set out, after six hours stay, and attended by twelve or fifteen Gentlemen, went directly to Montmedi, where he found the rest of his cavalry which had escaped. He lost half his army, twelve hundred were left dead upon the field,

† MSS. Mem. of Viscount de Turenne.

and

and three thousand were taken prisoners. Being asked, a long time afterwards, by an indiscreet young man, how he happen'd to lose the battles of Mariendal and of Rhetel, he only answered, *by my own fault*. And when some Officers affirmed, that he had never acted with greater prudence than in those two engagements, the Viscount answer'd, " Were I  
 " to be a little severe upon my self, I would observe,  
 " that I lost the battle of Mariendal, for having  
 " yielded too inadvertently to the importunity of  
 " the Germans, when they demanded quarters;  
 " and that of Rhetel, by my giving too much  
 " credit to the Governor's letter, who promis'd  
 " to hold out four days, the very evening be-  
 " fore he surrender'd. I was too easy and over-  
 " credulous on these occasions; but that man who  
 " has not committed any errors in war, has not been  
 " long in the service \*.

The Viscount chose to retire to Montmedi, rather than to Stenai, of which he was master, to remove all suspicion of his being so much discourag'd at the loss of the battle, as to have thoughts of abandoning the Spaniards. The Archduke Leopold was so well satisfied with his conduct, that he gave him power to fill up all the commissions vacant by the death of such officers as had been killed in the battle; and to give the surviving troops, whatever quarters they should desire in the King of Spain's dominions. He even remitted him, a little after, an hundred thousand crowns, being part of the sum promised by the treaty: but as Turenne knew that effectual methods were taking to set the Princes at liberty, he sent back the hundred thousand crowns; judging it would not be proper to take any money from the Spaniards, at a time when he hoped his engagements with them were near expiring.

\* See the Elogium of St. Evremont in the 2d Volume.

And,

An. 1650.

They treat  
about the  
deliverance  
of the  
Princes, and  
the Cardi-  
nal's exile.

And, indeed, all things were preparing for the enlargement of the Princes. The conference of the Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault with Cardinal Mazarin, at Bourg \*, had already raised a suspicion in the *Frondeurs*, that the Prime Minister was going to be reconciled with the Princes, without their participation: the Duke of Orleans, being informed of this conversation by the Princess de Monpensier, his daughter, who had followed the Queen into Guyenne, was alarmed at it. The Coadjutor, who first advised the imprisonment of the Princes, was now desirous of being chiefly instrumental in freeing them from it. The only object he had in view, was to create an animosity between the Prince of Condé and the Cardinal, in order to ruin the latter, and raise himself to the head of the Administration; and he never could have met with a more favourable opportunity. Instantly all the Coadjutor's turbulence rouses itself: he revives the cabals, excites the Cardinal's enemies, and sets the intriguing Court-ladies at work. The Princess Palatine treats with the *Frondeurs* about the Princes; the Duchess of Montbazon is promised a hundred thousand crowns; the Duchess of Chevreuse is flattered with the hopes of marrying her daughter to the Prince of Conti: and lastly, the Prelate brings over the Duke of Orleans, the Parliament and the people, and prevails with them to demand, unanimously, the destruction of the Prime Minister, jointly with the delivery of the Princes.

An. 1651.

The Princes  
are set at li-  
berty, and  
the Cardi-  
nal leaves  
France.

Gaston having refused to wait upon the King, unless the Cardinal was banished, the Queen was a long time in suspense, before she could prevail with herself to comply; but she at last was forced to let that Minister depart; promising, however, at the same time, never to consent to the enlargement of the Princes, without first acquainting him with

\* See above, page 182.



it. Mazarin left Paris about the beginning of Fe-  
bruary, and went to St. Germain en Laye : The  
very next day the Duke of Orleans caused the Par-  
liament to publish an arrêt, which banished the  
Cardinal out of the Kingdom, declared him *a dis-*  
*turber of the public peace*, and order'd the hue and  
cry after him. Whilst the Prime Minister was  
roving about the frontiers of Normandy, a report  
prevailed, that the Court was resolv'd to leave  
Paris a second time, in order to go to him. That  
instant the citizens ran to arms, and kept guards at  
the gates, to prevent the execution of this pretend-  
ed project. The Queen seeing herself imprisoned,  
as it were, in the *Palais Royal*, was obliged to  
consent to the enlargement of the Princes, without  
consulting the Cardinal. Their common friends ne-  
gotiated the conditions, and Marshal de Gramont  
was appointed to carry them. Mazarin equally  
surprized and shocked at this step taken by the  
Queen, which he could never forgive, resolv'd,  
nevertheless, the moment he heard of it, to act so  
as that he might ascribe all the honour of it to him-  
self. He set out immediately for Havre de Grace,  
arrived there the thirteenth of February, before  
Marshal de Gramont, waited upon the Princes, de-  
clared to them that they had their liberty, and de-  
sired their friendship ; adding, with haughtiness \*,  
that they might either grant or refuse it him. After  
dining together they parted : the Princes made for  
Paris, and the Prime Minister went first to Liege,  
and afterwards to Brule near Cologne. The next  
day the Princes arrived at Paris, where bon-  
fires were made for their deliverance, as they  
had been made the preceding year for their im-  
prisonment. The Duke of Orleans, with the Duke  
of Beaufort and the Coadjutor went to meet them.

\* Mem. de la Rochefoucault, imprisonment of the Princes.

An. 1651. They all mutually embraced, and made the strongest protestations of a sincere friendship, but the whole was merely outward.

A peace is  
endeavoured  
between the  
two Crowns.

When the news was brought to the Viscount, then at la Roche in Ardennes, he went to Stenai, whence he assured the Archduke, by letter, that he would not lay down his arms, till France had offered Spain such conditions of peace as were just and reasonable. At the same time he requested the Prince of Condé, to prevail with the Court to send immediately a person of distinction to Stenai, there to treat about peace, without which he could not, with any decency, leave the Spaniards. The Prince discovered the utmost gratitude in his letter, and gave him the most solemn promises of an everlasting friendship: and accordingly he used all his endeavours to prevail with her Majesty to finish the exchange of Sedan, and to grant the House of Bouillon all those things which had been so often promised. The Prince afterwards engaged the Queen to depute to Stenai, Croissi, a Counsellor of Parliament, to negotiate the peace with Spain: Croissi, upon his arrival there, gave the Viscount the following letter from the King.

COUSIN,

“ YOU have heard, not only of the liberty I  
 “ have granted my Cousins the Princes of  
 “ Condé and Conti, and the Duke of Longueville,  
 “ but of my resolution to cause a declaration to be  
 “ drawn up, containing an act of oblivion and ge-  
 “ neral pardon, with regard to all who took up  
 “ arms for them, against my service, in which you  
 “ are comprehended, and all your adherents: but,  
 “ as you perhaps may scruple, before it be registred,  
 “ to return into France, unless my intention be  
 “ signified to you; I write you these presents by  
 “ the

“ advice of the Queen Regent, my Royal Mother, An. 1651.  
 “ to tell you, that I forgive all you have done,  
 “ and will forget it, provided you will speedily  
 “ leave the party in which you are engaged, and  
 “ renounce all the treaties you have concluded  
 “ with my enemies ; and not doubting but you are  
 “ inclined to do this, I assure you that you may  
 “ freely come to my Court, in which I desire to  
 “ see you, and to testify to you, that I shall not,  
 “ in any manner, resent what you have enter-  
 “ prized against my service ; since I am firmly per-  
 “ suaded, that you will reengage in it with greater  
 “ zeal and fidelity than ever, as is your duty.  
 “ This letter shall be your safeguard to return,  
 “ although the abovesaid declaration be not yet  
 “ registered ; and you may give your word to  
 “ all who have followed you, that leaving the  
 “ enemy, and coming over to me, they shall be  
 “ delivered from all fears and prosecutions for the  
 “ fault with which they might be charged, I having  
 “ pardoned, and buried it in oblivion ; in the assu-  
 “ rance that you will have as much impatience to  
 “ come and make protestations to me, in person,  
 “ of your obedience, as I have good will to your  
 “ self, and the interest of your House. I beseech  
 “ God, Cousin, to preserve you.

Written at Paris,  
 the 6th of March,  
 1651.

Signed,

LOUIS.

This letter was followed by real testimonies of  
 favour from the Court : the contract of exchange  
 was at last signed the twentieth of March, and ra-  
 tified in April, after eight years spent in examina-  
 tions, enquiries, and delays. By this contract the  
 King declares that, conformable to the resolution  
 of Louis XIII, having judged the possession of  
 Sedan of great importance to the welfare of the  
 Kingdom, to secure to himself the possession of that  
 city,

An. 1651. city, he had resigned the Ducal Peerages of Albret, and of Chateau-Thierry, the Earldoms of Auvergne and of Evreux, the Barony of La Tour, and several other lands and lordships, with all their appurtenances, dependencies, and appendages, to the Duke of Bouillon, and to his successors male and female for ever; to enjoy them as their real patrimony, with full property incommutable and irrevocable, by the title of pure, absolute and perpetual exchange; and also that these lands shall not be subject to any redemption, reimbursement, repurchase or reunion to the demesnes of his Majesty, for any cause or occasion soever. The King was pleased to include in the exchange, the Barony of La Tour, and the Earldom of Auvergne, which were demanded as having been antient fiefs of the House of La Tour, and which had fallen to Queen Catherine of Medicis, heiress of the eldest branch of that House.

The Negotiations for peace with Spain broke off, and the Viscount's return to Court.

A little after the arrival of Croissi at Stenai, Friquer was sent thither in the Archduke's name. The Viscount de Turenne was so urgent for the negotiation, that the French offered to abandon Catalonia, to concern themselves no more with the affairs of the King of Portugal, and to depute the Duke of Orleans to the frontiers, with full powers to conclude a peace, provided the Spaniards would also send the Archduke with the like powers. The King of Spain, being ill advised, refused to hear these proposals; and the Viscount having solicited him, during two months, to no purpose, thought himself sufficiently disengaged from his parole, and resolved to return to the French Court. After thanking the Spaniards for the succours they had given, and their behaviour towards him, he set out for Paris: and hearing, upon the road, that the Princes and several Noblemen of the greatest distinction intended to come and meet him, he ordered



dered matters so well, to avoid all ostentation, that he arrived a day sooner than he was expected; persuaded that 'twould have been an insult upon the Court, to have entered with so much splendor into the capital of the Kingdom, upon his return from a war in which he had born arms against the King. The moment the Prince of Condé heard of his arrival, he paid him a visit, and carried him to the Louvre. He desired the Viscount to enter into his views, was urgent with him to form greater projects for himself and his family, and protested \* that he would use his utmost endeavours to forward them. The Viscount de Turenne made the most candid polite answers to all these advances, and gave him to understand that, being now fully satisfy'd, since the Princes were set at liberty, and Mazarin banished, he wanted nothing more. And, indeed, he would not make any advantage of the new credit the Prince had gained at Court, and only desired, that the troops which had exerted themselves with so much vigour to procure his liberty, might be allowed good winter-quarters.

The clouds which, during a year, had obscured the Viscount de Turenne's glory, are dispersed forever: 'tis now going to resume all its splendor: he henceforward will be only the defender of his Country, and the strongest support of the Throne.

The Queen was desirous of Mazarin's return, notwithstanding their reciprocal discontent. Accustomed to his gentle insinuating manner, and convinced, by her own experience, of his great capacity, she used her utmost endeavours to get him recalled. She entered into a secret treaty (unknown to the Frondeurs) with the Prince of Condé; bestowed upon him the government of Guyenne, and gave, in exchange, that of Burgundy to Duke d'Epemon. Condé, on the other side, to satisfy the Queen; who

Motives which engage the Prince of Condé to break with the Court.

\* See the Authorities Numb. VII,

An. 1651. was afraid that the marriage of the Prince of Conti with La Chevreuse, would raise the credit of the *Fronde*, broke that match, with all the haughtiness and impetuosity which were natural to him. The Coadjutor, who now roused all his resentment, dared to accuse him to his face, of breach of promise. Nay he was so bold as to set himself, in public, on the same foot with a Prince of the Blood; to be attended, like the Prince, to the hall of the *Palais*, by a company of armed men, and to insult the great Condé in parliament. The Queen, who hated them both, hoped that their feuds and divisions would prove their mutual ruin: in the mean time she was for ever endeavouring, by different methods, to reconcile them to the Cardinal, whose return from banishment was the chief object of her solicitude. At last, finding the Prince would never yield to it, she declared openly in favour of the Coadjutor, who now was so insolent as to advise the Queen to seize Condé a second time. This advice having got wind, the Prince was alarmed at it, withdrew to St. Maur, and formed revengeful projects, which proved fatal to his country. Doubtless, neither the refusal of the employments which he demanded for himself and his friends, nor the fear of losing his liberty, fomented in him a spirit of discontent and rebellion: this Prince, though but thirty years of age, believed himself as well qualified to govern the Kingdom, by the superiority of his understanding, as he was to defend it, by his valour: we must not charge the great Condé with any other ambition, than that of having aspired to be the sole Council of the King, and the only support of the Throne. Abused first by the Cardinal, and afterwards insulted by the Coadjutor, he gave way to his indignation, and resolved to make himself, by force, master of the Court and of the King's person, in order to be the arbiter of peace and war.

During

During his stay at St. Maur, he was visited by all his friends, and among the rest by the Viscount de Turenne. His refusal to join in Condé's projects, was as little owing to the pretended ingratitude of that Prince, as to the other falsely imagined causes of personal complaints. But the sad experience he had had of the horrors of civil war, and still more the reflections which had convinced him, that no cause could authorise a subject to take up arms against his Sovereign, were the real motives that attached the Viscount to the Court. The Prince returned soon to Paris: He continued his intelligence with the Spaniards, whom he still kept in Stenai, upon pretence of disengaging the Duchefs of Longueville from them: he had sent the Marquis de Silleri to Brussels, to renew the treaties with Fuenfaldagne, and to demand the promise of succours, in case he should again revive the civil dissensions.

The King going to parliament, to get himself declared of age, the Prince, instead of accompanying him thither, went into Normandy, where he endeavoured, but in vain, to seduce the Duke of Longueville. Animated by the Duchefs his sister, whose thoughts were very different from those of her husband, he set out for Guyenne, with a design to gain new partizans in that Province. At the same time the Princess of Condé, the Duke d'Enguien, and the Prince of Conti, to whom the Court had refused the Government of Provence, the Duchefs of Longueville, and the Duke of Rochefoucault, retired to Montrond, to raise the people of Berry. On the other side, the Count de Tavannes, Commander of the Prince of Condé's troops\*, separated from Marshal d'Aumont, General of the King's army in Flanders, and joined, in the neighbourhood of Stenai, Don Stephen de Gamarre. The

An. 1651.  
The Duke  
of Bouillon  
and Viscount  
de Turenne  
refuse to join  
with the  
Prince of  
Condé.

The Prince  
of Condé sets  
out for Bour-  
deaux, re-  
vives the civil  
war.

\* The Prince of Condé had a body of troops called from his name.

An. 1651. moment the Queen heard of Condé's departure, she thought there would be no other way of defeating his enterprizes, than by following him close: so leaving the Duke of Orleans to command in Paris, the Court set out about the end of September. During its stay (three weeks) at Bourges, the Royal forces were divided into two bodies, the most considerable of which was given to the Count d'Harcourt, to march and oppose the Prince of Condé in Guyenne, and the other to Palluau, to block up Montrond: but before he could invest the town, the Princes set out with the utmost diligence for Bourdeaux, and left the Marquis de Persan to defend it. The Court went afterwards to Poitiers, with a resolution to spend the winter there. The Prince of Condé had already declared war in Guyenne: A Spanish fleet, which came up by the mouth of the Garonne, had brought him succours, and Count Marfin also brought him some troops. This experienced Officer served the King of Spain in Catalonia; attached for ever to Condé, he had been imprisoned in the citadel of Perpignan, when the Princes were sent to Vincennes, and did not recover his liberty till after their enlargement. The instant he received advice of the Prince's rupture with the Court, he left the Spanish army, came out of the intrenchments in the night, with his regiment of horse, and a Swiss Regiment; passed through the Spanish camp, with their consent, crossed Catalonia, and came to Condé in Guyenne. The Prince of Tarentum came likewise and joined the rebels of Bourdeaux; but was unable to assist the party either with troops or fortresses.

Count  
d'Harcourt  
checks the  
Prince's con-  
quests.

The Prince of Condé had already taken Saintes, invested Cognac, engaged some other cities to declare in his favour, and spread the terror of his name throughout the whole Kingdom; however,

Count




Count d'Harcourt beat several of his detachments, and shewed that Condé could cease to be invincible, when instead of well disciplined veterans, he had only new levies under his command. The Prince, who was obliged to retire to Bourg; hearing, in this city, that Marshal de Gramont was to enter Guyenne, by the way of Bearne, to block up Bourdeaux on all sides, could only have recourse to negotiation. Accordingly he made proposals for a reconciliation, and assured the Queen, provided she would accept them, never more to oppose the Cardinal's return. He was sensible that it would displease the Duke of Orleans and the Parliament, and would stir up the people of Paris and the other cities of the Kingdom. He flattered himself that they would all take up arms, when putting himself at their head, he should soon be able to prescribe laws to those who were now upon the point of commanding him.

The Queen listened to the Prince's proposals, and Mazarin's friends seized this opportunity to get him recalled. Several couriers were dispatched to Brule, where he had resided during his banishment, and still governed the Queen, the Court, the Ministers, and the whole Kingdom with absolute authority. The Cardinal, after having concerted measures for his return, left Cologne, and advanced as far as Sedan, with the forces he had raised in Germany. The Marquis d'Hocquincourt, who a little before had been created a Marshal of France, joined Mazarin with those he had drawn out of winter quarters in Picardy and Champaign. The moment the news of this reached Paris, the Duke of Orleans assembled the Chambers of the Parliament, and caused them to publish an arrêt, by which all the Governors of frontier towns were commanded to stop the Cardinal, and all persons were impowered to seize him. Very soon after a reward of fifty

An. 1651.


Cardinal Mazarin leaves Cologne in order to return to France, and a price is set upon his head.

An. 1651. thousand crowns was offered to any one who should  
 bring him dead or alive.

An. 1652. *The Cardinal returns to France, and the Duke of Orleans levies troops, and declares against the Court.*  
 Jan. 30. Whilst the Duke of Orleans was assembling forces, the Prime Minister, little dismay'd at all that was doing against him, entered France with his by the plains of Champaign, crossed the Seine at Meri and the Loire at Gien, marched on by the way of Sologne, and arrived without opposition the 30th of January at Poitiers, whither the King and the whole Court were gone to meet him. In the mean time the Duke of Orleans gave the command of the army he had raised to the Duke of Beaufort; and the Duke of Nemours having crossed Picardy with great diligence, came and joined Beaufort in Dunois, at the head of the Prince of Condé's troops, and those which the Spaniards had sent him, pursuant to the treaty. At the same time the Duke of Rohan, Governor of Anjou, engaged the inhabitants of it to declare for the Prince, who now believing that the whole Kingdom was going to take up arms, would not hear of a reconciliation. The Court seeing the mutineers increase in numbers, assembled troops; besides those in Guyenne, the King had three armies on foot, in Flanders, in Catalonia, and in Italy; so that the newly levied army consisted only of nine or ten thousand men.

*The King's army is commanded by the Marshals de Turenne and d'Hocquincourt.*

Things were in this state, when the Viscount de Turenne, at the request of the Court, came to Poitiers, from whence he followed the King to Saumur; the Queen made him the offer of sharing the command of the army with Marshal d'Hocquincourt; the Viscount, guided by no other motive than his Country's welfare, did not scruple to accept it, tho' he was an older Officer, by ten years, than the Marshal. As soon as the King's presence had appeased the troubles of Anjou, the Cardinal thought proper to bring him back to Paris, to curb that great city, which generally gives motion to the  
 rest

rest of the Kingdom. 'Twas resolv'd they should An. 1652.  
 march from Saumur to Gien, up the river Loire,   
 to secure the cities on the banks of that river.  
 Tours, Amboise, Blois, and all the other towns,  
 gave the King testimonies of their obedience: Orleans  
 was the only city that shut her gates against  
 him, at the solicitations of the Princess of Mont-  
 pensier, whom the Duke of Orleans her father had  
 sent thither, purposely to raise an insurrection.

The enemy's forces, consisting of about fourteen Action at  
Gergeau  
bridge.  
 or fifteen thousand men, commanded by the Dukes  
 of Beaufort and Nemours, were encamped in the  
 neighbourhood of Montargis, and extended to the  
 bank on the right of the Loire. As the King, in  
 passing by Sully, drew near their quarters, the Vis-  
 count thought it would be proper to go and recon-  
 noitre the condition of Gergeau bridge, by which  
 they might cross the river, and come and surprize  
 the Court in its march. Scarce was he arrived at  
 Gergeau, with very few attendants, when the Baron  
 de Sirot \*, Lieutenant General of the Duke of  
 Beaufort's army, with four battalions, and some  
 horse, came to the other side of the Loire, seized  
 on the suburb, and the extremity of the bridge, and  
 from thence got into the middle, where he made a  
 lodgment, and planted some canon. Turenne,  
 finding but two hundred men in the place, unpro-  
 vided of all warlike stores, immediately sent orders  
 for some regiments, at two leagues distance, to  
 come up with all possible diligence. Whilst they  
 were coming, he open'd the gate of the city, and  
 went upon the bridge itself with about thirty per-  
 sons: and to remove all suspicions from the enemy  
 of his being in want of powder, he forbade, with a  
 loud voice, the soldiers who were posted in the  
 houses standing on the edge of the bridge on his side,  
 to fire; and whilst Marshal d'Hocquincourt, who

\* Claud de l'Etouf Baron of Sirot.

An. 1652. by this time was come up with some Officers, raised a barricade, he advanced to cover the work, towards the enemy's lodgment, and sustained their whole fire. The instant the barricade was finish'd, he retired behind, and defended it three hours, till the succours were arrived: he then came out of his intrenchment; marched at the head of the troops sword in hand; possessed himself of the lodgment; drove the rebels (now quite disconcerted by the fall of Baron de Sirot) to the other side of the river, and afterwards broke down the bridge. At his return, the Queen said to him in presence of the whole Court, *that he had saved the Kingdom*. How important soever this action might be, the Viscount mentions it in a remarkably transient manner, in a letter written from Sulli to his sister Charlotte de la Tour d'Auvergne. After advising her to stay in Paris, in case she could be safe there, or to conceal herself in some friend's house, he adds in a postscript, *Something has happened at Gergeau, but 'tis of no great consequence*.

The Prince of Condé leaves Guyenne, and arrives in the camp of the rebels.

In the mean time the Prince of Condé, hard pressed in Guyenne by Count d'Harcourt, imagined he should have better success were he to head an army compos'd of veteran troops which had already served under him. He sent for the Prince of Conti to Agen, placed him at the head of affairs, exhorting him, at the same time, to follow the advice of Count de Marfin, and Counsellor Lenet, with whom he had settled all matters relating to the army, and the factious in Bourdeaux. Afterwards, feigning as tho' he would go and spend two or three days in that city, he set out from Agen about the end of March, followed by the Duke of Rochefoucault, the Prince of Marillac, by Chavagnac, Guitaut, Gourville, and some domesticks. He rode sixscore leagues in a very short time, travelled day and night almost without changing horses, and

24 March.



and without staying two hours in the same place. He was several times in danger upon the road, of being discovered, taken or kill'd; pass'd within a small distance of the Royal Army, and arrived at last at the camp of the rebels, within two leagues of Lorris near Montargis. His presence was necessary; the Dukes of Beaufort and Nemours disagreeing very much, were thinking to separate, but they kept united under the Prince, and the troops resumed fresh courage. Condé, the very day after his arrival, marched towards Montargis, which city was so intimidated that it surrendered at the first summons, and a great quantity of forrage and corn was found there.

\* During this interval, the Marshals de Turenne and d'Hocquincourt cross'd the Loire over Gien bridge; and the Court staid, about the beginning of April, some time in that city. The army was divided into two parts: Turenne marched and posted himself at Briare and d'Hocquincourt at Bleneau. They kept only the infantry with them, and dispersed the cavalry in all places where there was good forrage. Next day, the Viscount going to dine at Bleneau with the Marshal, and seeing the disposition of his quarters, could not forbear saying to him, "That he thought them very much exposed, and therefore advis'd him to contract them."

† The Marshal did not seem much to regard this advice, and the Viscount being returned to his post, heard the night following, that the rebels had forced d'Hocquincourt's advance-guard, and had penetrated even to the remotest quarters of his camp. Immediately he assembled his infantry, and flew to succour the Marshal; after having commanded his horse to come up and join

\* The MS, Mem. of the Duke of York, from which we have borrowed several particulars, begin here, and extend to the peace of the Pyrenees.

† Mem. MSS. of Fremont d'Ablancourt.

An. 1652. them between Ozuer and Bléneau, where he thought  
 7th April. it would be proper to post himself to cover Gien. He  
 marched without a guide in a very dark night ; saw  
 two or three of Marshal d'Hocquincourt's quarters in  
 flames, crying out at that sight, *The Prince of Condé*  
*is come* \* ; continued his way, but afraid, every  
 step he took, of meeting with the enemy's forces,  
 and arrived by day-break in a spacious plain, where  
 his cavalry came up with him. Condé had just  
 before drove the Marshal from five quarters, one  
 after another, had plundered all his baggage,  
 forc'd the infantry to shut themselves up in Bléneau,  
 and drove the cavalry three or four leagues towards  
 Burgundy. The news of this defeat threw the Court  
 into so great a consternation, that 'twas immediately  
 resolved to carry the King to Bourges, and to break  
 down Gien bridge, as soon as he should have  
 cross'd the Loire.

The Vis-  
 count's per-  
 plexity.

The Viscount imagining that the Prince of Condé  
 would advance soon to attack him, sought for some  
 advantageous post, to stop him but one day only,  
 and to give Marshal d'Hocquincourt time to get  
 together his scattered troops. All the General Offi-  
 cers represented to him, the danger he would run  
 in waiting the coming up of a victorious army,  
 with such unequal forces ; and therefore advised  
 him to return towards Gien, in order to guard  
 the King's person. The Viscount, deep in thought,  
 and without speaking a word to any person, con-  
 tinued to give out his orders for the execution of  
 his design. “ † Never, he has since said, did  
 “ such a multitude of dreadful things croud into  
 “ the imagination of one man, as filled mine at  
 “ that time. I had not been long in good terms with  
 “ the Court ; and had but lately received com-

\* We owe this particular to the late Duke of Rochefoucault, then Prince of Marillac.

† MSS. The Mem. of Fremont d'Ablancourt.

“ mand

“ mand of the army which was to defend it. An. 1652.  
 “ That man who has distinguished himself ever  
 “ so little, is sure of being envied, and of raising  
 “ enemies. Some I had, who declared in all pla-  
 “ ces, that I still carried on a secret correspon-  
 “ dence with the Prince. The Cardinal did not be-  
 “ lieve it ; but he perhaps, the very first misfortune  
 “ which should have befallen me, would have enter-  
 “ tained the same suspicion. Besides, I knew Mar-  
 “ shal d’Hocquincourt, who would certainly have  
 “ said, that I had exposed him, and not brought him  
 “ the least succour. These were very troublesome  
 “ thoughts ; and the worst of all was, the Prince  
 “ was advancing towards me, victorious, and with  
 “ a superior force.” † But these inward struggles  
 did not make him lay aside his project. The  
 evening before, as he was returning from the Mar-  
 shal’s quarters, he had observed an advantageous  
 spot of ground\* : he therefore made his troops  
 double their speed, and got to the post he wished,  
 firmly resolving to wait there the coming up of the  
 enemy. The soldiers, nevertheless, were as un-  
 easy as ever ; they again began to murmur, and the  
 Officers imagin’d there was no means of safety left,  
 but by retiring instantly to Gien. The Viscount  
 was informed of these several particulars by la Berge,  
 Lieutenant of his guards ; and now giving more  
 attention to what was said to him, he answered,  
 “ That as the danger was so imminent, the pro-  
 “ posal they made to him would be of little service ;  
 “ that as the city of Orleans had shut her gates  
 “ against the King, at a time when his army had  
 “ not yet been defeated, they might justly be  
 “ afraid that no city would receive him, when  
 “ vanquish’d and a fugitive ; and that the King’s

† St. Evremont’s Elogium of M. de Turenne,

\* MSS. Mem. of Fremont d’Ablancourt.

An. 1652. “ arms would lose all their reputation, should  
 “ he fly before the rebels : he added with a resolute voice, “ *We must conquer or die here* †.”  
 He then made preparations to oppose the Prince of Condé in the midst of a large plain, where a wood was on his right, a fen\* on his left, and between both a causey, by which the enemy could not come up with him, but by marching in file. The Prince had fourteen thousand men, and the Viscount not above four thousand at most. Nevertheless, full of confidence, when he considered the advantageous situation of his post, and the motions he was projecting, he sent word by the Marquis de Pertui †, Captain of his guards, to Cardinal Mazarin, that the King might safely continue at Gien.

The Viscount checks the progress of the Prince of Condé near Gien.


Condé, after having defeated Marshal d'Hocquincourt, advanced with the utmost speed towards Gien, firmly persuaded, that the Viscount having so few forces left, would not be able to hinder him from carrying off the whole Court and the King. The moment Turenne saw him from the head of the causey, where he had posted himself with his six squadrons, he immediately repassed it, made the foot he had with him retire from the wood, being unwilling to weaken his forces by fighting upon unequal terms, and kept all his troops at such a distance from the wood, that they were not within musquet-shot of it, yet without leaving the enemy ground enough to draw up in order of battle. Condé, who marched his infantry into the wood, seeing this disposition of the Viscount's troops, halted ; and as he continued unactive some time, the Viscount resolved to make such a motion, as might induce the Prince

† MSS. Mem. of Fremont d'Ablancourt.

\* This is supposed to be la Bouziniere.

† The Marquis de Pertui was descended from a family of antient Nobility in Normandy, sprung originally from the most illustrious House of Hay in Scotland. He died Lieutenant General of the King's armies, and Governour of Courtrai.



to believe he intended to fly: besides, the Viscount, An. 1652.  
 by changing situation, designed to reconnoitre,   
 whether the enemy did not march under covert, in  
 order to go and draw up in some other part of the  
 plain, charge him in flank, or surround him, as  
 they should have done at first. Condé, mistaking  
 this motion for a flight, marched in battalia to  
 the causey, and sent fifteen or twenty squadrons  
 over it. Turenne, who, to confirm him in his  
 error, had marched fast, now wheel'd about, re-  
 turned with greater diligence to his first post, and  
 forced the squadrons, which he put into disorder,  
 to repass it with precipitation. That instant,  
 the battery which the Viscount had levelled di-  
 rectly at the causey, *did dreadful execution*\*; and  
 the Prince did not dare to make any farther at-  
 tempt the remaining part of the day, which they  
 spent in canonading one another. In the evening,  
 Marshal d'Hocquincourt with his horse, and the  
 Duke of Bouillon, with several other Noblemen  
 who were in Gien, came to the Viscount; and now  
 the two armies were upon equal terms, and conti-  
 nued in sight of one another till night.

The Cardinal, extremely anxious for the success The joy the  
Court were  
in, and their  
gratitude to-  
wards the  
Viscount.  
 of this day, which was to determine his fate, and  
 even that of the King and Queen, was sending Cou-  
 riers perpetually to know how matters went; whilst  
 the Queen, undisturbed at her toilet, or at dinner,  
 did not discover the least symptoms of fear †. The  
 servants had nevertheless begun to take down the  
 furniture of her apartment, her equipage was got  
 over the bridge, and the pioneers were ready to  
 break it down, in order that the Loire might be  
 between the King and the enemy; when advice  
 was brought, that the Prince of Condé had been

\* An expression us'd by the Duke of York in his Memoirs, whence part  
 of these particulars are extracted.

† Mem. of Monglat, Vol. II. p. 261.

An. 1652. stopp'd in his march, and obliged to retire ; and the Viscount de Turenne was returning victorious. The whole Court gave him the highest encomiums, and the Queen declared in publick, *That he had set the Crown a second time upon her Son's head.* In the night, the King's army marched towards Briare, and that of the Prince reached Montargis. Cardinal Mazarin order'd a relation to be drawn up of this fortunate action †: The relation began with the advice which the Viscount de Turenne gave the night before to Marshal d'Hocquincourt, to contract his quarters : but the Viscount entreated the Cardinal very earnestly to blot out that article which cast too great a reproach on the Marshal, who, not being so tender of Turenne's reputation, gave out, that he did not come soon enough to his assistance. To this the Viscount made no other answer but, *That a man who was under so much affliction as Marshal d'Hocquincourt, ought at least to have the liberty of complaining,* and Turenne discovered so much moderation in apologizing for the Marshal, that he even gain'd his friendship.

The King's  
army returns  
to Châtres.

The little success the Prince of Condé had met with in this last enterprize, made his friends very urgent with him to go in person, and oppose the cabals of the Coadjutor, now Cardinal de Retz. The Queen, who detested the Coadjutor, had yet nominated him for a Cardinal's hat, from a persuasion, that he would be of great service to her, upon the Prince's taking up arms a second time ; and Mazarin returning a little after, had got this nomination revoked ; but Innocent X. was no sooner raised to the Pontificate, than he sent the hat to the Coadjutor, out of hatred to the Prime Minister. The intrigues of the new Cardinal, who employed all his endeavours to disengage the Duke of Orleans from the Prince of Condé's interest, as well as the impression which the

\* MSS. Mem. of Fremont d'Ablancourt.

count's last exploit had made on the minds of the inhabitants of Paris, determined Condé to leave his army, the command of which he gave to Count de Tavannes \*, and to return to Paris, whither he brought back the Duke of Beaufort, and the Duke of Nemours, who was wounded. A week after, the King left Gien, and the Count immediately set out upon his march, in order to surprize the Court: but Turenne and d'Hocquincourt, leaving Montargis and the Prince of Condé's army very far to the left, kept along the banks of the river Yonne, and conducted the King by Auxerre and Sens; then stealing a march upon the Count de Tavannes, they cross'd the river Loire at Moret, travers'd the forest of Fontainebleau, arrived at Ferté-Alais an hour before the enemy, by which they secured Melun and Corbeil, and, after having cover'd the King's march forty leagues, came and encamped at Châtres; between the Prince's army and Paris, and thereby cut off its communication with Count de Tavannes, who retired to Etampes, where all the harvest of Beauvais was stor'd. Turenne advised the King to go directly from Corbeil to Paris, in which Gaston and the Prince were without forces; but Mazarin was so abhorred by the inhabitants of this City, that he would not trust himself in it; and therefore the Court preferr'd St. Germain en Laye.

Condé sent thither privately to the Minister, to treat about a reconciliation with him. This negotiation prov'd ineffectual for several reasons: Condé and Mazarin, tho' very opposite in character, had this fault in common, *viz.* never, when they treated, to have any fixed and limited pretensions; but the more they granted one another, the more they thought themselves impower'd to demand: On the other side, Cardinal de Retz, for ever hurried along by his turbulent spirit, set every engine at work to

An. 1652.  
The Negotiations for peace broken

\* James de Saulx, and Count de Tavannes.

An. 1652. hinder an accommodation: his fear was, that if peace were made without his participation, he should remain exposed to his enemies, or at least become useless: war, on the contrary, though of never so little continuance, gave him hopes of the Prince's ruin, or the removal of the Prime Minister; and which soever of these should happen, he reckoned upon having the sole government of the Duke of Orleans, and becoming the head of the administration, the only invariable object of his ambition. At the same time the Spaniards endeavoured to spirit up the Prince by the offer of succours. The most refined strokes of policy were employed by both parties, to engage him, one to continue the war, the other to conclude a peace; but during his suspense, the Viscount de Turenne was seeking an opportunity to surprize the rebels.

The Viscount marches to Etampes, to surprize the Prince's army.

The Princess de Montpensier having left Orleans to return to Paris, sent for a passport from Etampes. The Viscount kept the messenger a whole day, persuaded that as the enemy would pass in review before her, now she was leaving them, they for that reason would not go a foraging for some days; that this delay would oblige them to go in greater numbers afterwards; and that the forragers, in the absence of their Officers, who would certainly accompany the Princess, would observe little or no discipline. Upon this reflection, he propos'd to post himself between Orleans and Etampes, to intercept the forragers. Marshal d'Hocquincourt approved the project; and accordingly the two Generals, in the night, between the fourth and fifth of May, marched the army in deep silence, through by-ways, and arrived by day-break at the place where they intended to post themselves. The scouts bringing word, that the enemy's army, instead of foraging, was drawn up in order of battle, in a plain near Etampes, because the Princess did not set out till that very morning, it was



was resolved to go and fight them : but the moment the enemy perceived the King's army, whose march had till now been a secret to them, they entered the town with so much diligence, that before the Marshals de Turenne and d'Hocquincourt had got to the hill above Etampes, the rebels had already secured themselves, and the Princess was gone.

This hasty retreat made the Viscount take a new resolution. Having observed, from the hill where he stood, a large body of troops, in pretty great disorder, in the suburb towards Orleans, he fancied it would be possible for him to force this post. Nine regiments of foot, with five hundred horse, had entrenched themselves in it, behind the rivulet which covers all one side, a little space excepted towards the town gate, where the enemy had made a strong dike. The Royal infantry marched to the suburb, without staying till the canon had fired against the intrenchments : that part of it commanded by Marshal d'Hocquincourt which was to the right, after sustaining all the enemy's fire, crossed the rivulet near a mill, whilst Gadagne forc'd the dike to the left, near the gate. Barricades were rais'd in the latter place, to cut off all communication between the town and the suburb, into which the Viscount afterwards marched his infantry. D'Hocquincourt came up after, and sustained them, at the head of the cavalry ; but they followed him with so great a precipitation, and in such numbers, that Turenne reserving only some squadrons, thought proper to detach the greatest part of them, to go and reinforce the body of horse appointed to repulse the enemy, in case they should march out through another gate of the town. The attack and the defence were equally vigorous. Both sides disputed every house, every inclosure, and the walls of the several gardens. The regiment of Turenne sustained with so much bravery the other troops, that having been repulsed to some distance

An. 1652. tance by the rebels, they returned with fresh ardour, and drove them to the last wall, whence they were forced to retire into a church, and there cry for quarter. Whilst this was doing, the enemy, to succour their men, sallied out of the town thro' the gate towards the dike; attacked the barricade, and would have stormed it, in spite of Gadagne's resolution, had not the Viscount, who advanced with some squadrons, within pistol-shot, repulsed them \*. They tried two more sallies with as little success, and after fighting obstinately for three hours, the suburb was carried. The enemy's horse sav'd themselves by crossing the river; and of the nine regiments of foot, nine hundred men were kill'd, and seventeen hundred taken prisoners. The Marquises de Navailles and de Gadagne, the Count de Broglio, and Baron de Vaubecourt, signalized themselves greatly on this occasion.

Had the rebels after the action, but taken a proper advantage of an error which one part of the King's forces committed, they might have defeated them in their retreat. Marshal d'Hocquincourt marched with the vanguard of the army directly to Etrechy, without observing the situation of the Viscount, who could not follow him with the rear-guard, till he had rallied his soldiers that were dispersed and busied in plundering the suburb. The enemy, had they sallied out by the gate call'd Paris gate, opposite to that of Orleans, might have got between the two parts of the army, and defeated both: but they contented themselves with attacking the rear-guard, as it retired; and charg'd it so vigorously, that the Viscount was obliged to turn back, with a body of horse, to disengage it. When he was informed that the van-guard was gone, *'Tis too late*, replied he, shrugging up his shoulders,

\* We have borrowed all these particulars from the Duke of York's Memoirs, who was present at the action.

*to remedy what is done* † ; and preserving his usual tranquillity, notwithstanding the danger which the incumbrance of the prisoners encreas'd, he made with the utmost diligence towards Etrechi, where he came up with the Marshal, and whence the whole army marched the next day to Châtres.

The misfortunes which had befallen the Royal Family of Stuart occasioned by the Civil Wars of England, obliged the Queen of Great Britain, Henrietta, daughter to Henry the IV of France, to seek an asylum in this Kingdom, in order to implore the protection of that Crown. King Charles II. and the Duke of York, her sons, after the murder of the King their father, having been unsuccessful in all their enterprizes against Cromwel, followed the Queen their mother to Paris. As the Duke of York, then but eighteen, breath'd nothing but war, the high idea he entertain'd of the Viscount de Turenne, engaged him to leave Paris secretly, to serve as a volunteer in the King's army, and learn the science of war under so great a General. He was present at the action of the suburb of Etampes, and displayed that valour which was always admir'd in the Duke of York. The Viscount gave him a reception suitable to his birth ; and endeavoured, by all possible proofs of affection, to soften the remembrance of his misfortunes.

Three days after the battle of Etampes, Marshal d'Hocquincourt was sent to his government of Peronne, upon pretence of the Spaniards approaching it, and the King's army remain'd under the sole command of the Viscount. Turenne knowing that all the forces of the Prince of Condé, and of his adherents, on this side of the Loire, were reduced to the troops shut up in Etampes, where they began to be in want of forrage, form'd a design to go and block up that city, in order to

† The Duke of York's Memoirs.

An. 1652.  
The Duke of York arrives in the Viscount's camp.

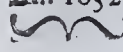
An. 1652. starve them, in case they continued in it, or fight them if they came out. Count de Tavannes commanded the Prince's troops, Valon those of the Duke of Orleans, and Clinchamp the Spaniards. All three were very brave; but no one of them had experience sufficient to conduct an army: They were embarked in the same cause, but their views were different, and their perpetual jealousy occasioned frequent disputes. 'Twas impossible for a man of the Viscount's abilities, not to take advantage of this misunderstanding; nevertheless, as their army consisted of four thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and that of the Viscount was at most but ten thousand men, this blockade was considered as a rash enterprize. But the Prince of Condé, who knew better than any body Turenne's capacity, forming a different judgment, was afraid lest his army should be forced to surrender at discretion; and pressed the Archduke Leopold, at that time Governor of the Low Countries, to send him immediate succours.

May 22.  
The Vis-  
count be-  
sieges E-  
tampes.

The King left St. Germain, and during his journey to Melun, the Viscount de Turenne marched within a league of Etampes. This town stands in a bottom: Its walls flanked with but small towers, are not strong enough to sustain an attack: On that side lying towards Orleans, they are watered by a small river, and surrounded with a dry ditch towards Châtres: very near this place the rebels were possessed of a hill, on which a round tower is built, whence there is a prospect of the whole plain. The Viscount made himself master of the other eminencies, dispersed troops to the right and left, lodged part of them in the ruins of the suburbs, which the enemy had burnt at his approach, and encamped the rest of his army pretty near Etampes, on a spot whence the canon could do but little execution in the town, as it stood in a bottom.



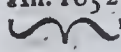
bottom. Notwithstanding the frequent sallies of An. 1652. the besieged, the lines of contravallation were soon compleated, which, as the soil was very stony, could not be very deep: lines of circumvallation seemed uselefs in the field, as there was no enemy. A bridge was made on the river, to keep the besieged from foraging, and several others were preparing, when advice came of the Duke of Lorraine's arrival in France. This Prince, who had been dispossessed of his dominions, headed ten thousand men who followed him every where. Regardless of his engagements, he had promised, by a secret treaty, to employ them this year in the King of Spain's service; and at the same time had given such promises to Cardinal Mazarin, that, upon orders sent by the Court, Marshal de la Ferté, Governor of Lorraine, permitted him to levy troops, and provisions were furnished him in his march: and yet, when he was come pretty near Paris, he did not scruple to declare in favour of the Princes. This unexpected turn obliged Turenne to change his plan; accordingly he resolved to attack, with the utmost vigour, Etampes, in order to storm that town, before the Duke of Lorraine should come and succour it. As horses were wanted for the artillery, the Court was obliged to employ all that could be found, and even those which drew the coaches of the King and Queen. By the help of these the Viscount erected batteries against the half-moon, standing near the gate of Orleans; and the moment its defences were ruined, the Marquis de Gadagne, who was commanded to go and attack it, marched thither in the night, at the head of a thousand men, and possessed himself of it: but at day-break he was drove thence by the besieged, who attacked him on every side; and after receiving twenty shot in his buffcoat, escaped almost miraculously out of the midst of the enemy's squadrons. The Viscount re-

An. 1652. ceiving advice of this, returned immediately from his quarters, whither he was gone, and commanded all the infantry there to march: his own regiment coming up first, advanced alone towards the half-moon, and, unsuccoured even by the artillery of the lines, sustained the whole fire of the curtain, without discharging once, entered the foss, which had been filled up in the night, got upon the work that was crowded with the enemy's forces, drove them from thence, and planted their colours on it, which had been carried by Captains during the whole engagement. This action of almost unparallel'd vigour, made the Viscount's forces hope to continue unmolested all the rest of that day; but the besieged sallied out about three in the afternoon with twenty squadrons and four battalions to recover the half-moon, and at the same time to attack the lines in a quarter where they were least expected. Turenne, who happened very fortunately to be there, sent orders to all the forces to repair to their several posts, and commanded the foot, which were in the camp, to come and join him. At the same time he ordered one of the three squadrons upon guard out of the lines, sent it under Count de Rennel to charge, and himself advanced with the two others towards the avenue leading to the intrenchments, where he supposed the greatest efforts would be made. The first squadron having been repulsed, the rebels would have entered the lines, if two hundred musketeers of the regiment of guards had not come up. These were all that could be got together in the camp, the action in the morning having drawn the greatest part of the infantry to the suburb of Orleans. These musketeers, who were desired by the Viscount not to fire all at once, and to take a good aim, did great execution: at their first discharge, which killed great numbers in the three first squadrons, they forced the enemy's

enemy's horse to retire ; and at their second, they obliged the foot, who were advancing, to shelter themselves behind a *rideau* or eminence, whence neither superiority of numbers, intreaties, menaces, nor blows could induce them to stir ; they only poured in a great fire on the lines, and retired as soon as the rest of the King's troops came up. The rebels were as unsuccessful in the attack of the work, for those who guarded them had time to prepare for their reception. Tracy, who commanded the Viscount's German cavalry, marching between the lines and the town, met the enemy advancing to attack the work, when he charged them vigorously, though at the head of but four squadrons, obliged them to halt, and gave another body, commanded by the Marquis de Richelieu, time to advance and sustain him. Upon this reinforcement the enemy were charged a second time, and drove back in great disorder, after losing a vast number of soldiers, and upwards of sixty Officers. The besieged did not make any other considerable sally ; and Turenne's forces charged them vigorously the following days, on that side towards the gate of Orleans, and the half-moon which had been recovered : but whilst they were about to undermine the walls, advice was brought the Viscount, that the Duke of Lorraine, after declaring in favour of the Princes, was advancing, and that a bridge of boats, was preparing for him above Charenton.

Upon this news, Marshal de Turenne judged it would be proper to raise the siege, not to run the hazard of being shut up between two armies of the enemy, when undefended by lines of circumvallation. Accordingly the canon was removed from off the batteries ; the troops came out of the half-moon, and after setting fire to the barracks, the army marched away. Whilst the first line halted, the second advanced about five hundred

The Viscount makes a retreat to Etampes.

An. 1652.  dred paces, and then faced about ; afterwards the first line passed through the intervals of the second line, and continued its march to the same distance, halted and faced like the second, which began the same movement as before. These motions were repeated for the space of half a league ; and the enemy, who skirmished at first with the first line in its retreat, made no considerable attempt afterwards.

The Viscount marches to attack the Duke of Lorraine in his camp at Villeneuve St. Georges.

The fourteenth of June, Turenne crossed the Seine at Corbeil, marched through the forest of Senard, and made such great expedition, that the Duke of Lorraine was very much surprized when he heard of his approach. The Duke was encamped on the hill of Villeneuve St. George, and was making a bridge over the Seine, in order to join his army to that of the Prince of Condé. The Viscount, after reconnoitring his disposition, went in the evening and crossed the little river of Yeres, near Brunoi, marched the whole night about Gros-bois, and came near the enemy by day-break, with the resolution of attacking them immediately. The Duke of Lorraine, who depended entirely for subsistence on the letting out of his troops to hire, would not suffer them to hazard a battle, tho' his forces were superior to those of the King. As he expected every moment the arrival of the army from Etampes, he flattered himself with the hopes of amusing the Viscount by negotiations. He had already pav'd the way to this, and drawn the King of England from Paris into his camp, to have the benefit of his mediation, and even engage him to pass his word for him at the French Court, which the Duke had so often deceived, that they were not disposed to trust him any more. But at his intreaty, King Charles sent a message from the Lorraine camp to the Duke of York his brother, by which he desired earnestly to have an interview with him, in order to negotiate a peace between the two armies. The Viscount consented to this, and the



the English Prince carried the conditions which this General required from the Duke of Lorrain. Nevertheless, the Viscount still advanced to prevent his being surprized by the artifices of the Duke, who had posted himself to as much advantage as the place he was in would allow. A wood lay at his right, the river Yeres at his left, and in the front of his army were six redoubts, all which he had raised in one night: here he had lodged his infantry, and five hundred musketeers were posted in the wood. His army amounted to five thousand horse and three thousand foot; besides a thousand or twelve hundred of the Prince of Conde's forces, brought by the Duke of Beaufort. The King's army, weakened by the loss sustained before Etampes, was scarce upwards of seven thousand men.

The King of England was extremely perplex'd how to act, in case the two armies should come to a battle. 'Twould be a dishonour to him, should he leave the camp the night before an engagement, without sharing in it: He had particular obligations to the Duke of Lorrain, who loved him; some likeness of characters also had formed a friendship between them; but at the same time he was under the protection of his Majesty. In case he fought for the Duke of Lorrain, he would countenance the rebellion; and if he went over to the army of France, he would seem to betray his friend. The Duke of York found the King his brother in this dilemma, when he brought the proposals, by which the Viscount demanded, that the Lorrainers should immediately discontinue working at the bridge over the Seine; that the Duke of Lorrain should promise to leave the Kingdom in a fortnight, and at the same time give his parole, never more to succour the rebels. Whilst the two Princes were in conference, the Duke of Lorrain came into the room, and the Duke of York presented him the plan of the treaty. He received it with

An. 1652.

A treaty is signed between the Duke of Lorrain and the Viscount.

An. 1652. with an air of raillery, that was natural to him, which however seemed a little forced on this occasion. He consented at once to the first article, and immediately dispatched an Officer, with orders to discontinue working at the bridge ; but he rejected the two last, and protested that nothing should force him to consent to them: The Duke of York replying that the Viscount would not recede from these articles, the conference ended. The Duke of Lorraine imagining that the young Prince was for a battle rather than a reconciliation, desired the King of England to send the Lord Germain with him, to obtain, if possible, less severe conditions from the Viscount. Turenne had continued advancing, and the Duke of York and the Lord Germain met him within a league of the Lorraine camp. The English Prince acquainted him with the Duke of Lorraine's answer, and the Lord Germain, after employing, but to no purpose, all his eloquence, to make an impression on him, returned. The army still continuing its march, was now got within canon shot of the enemy, when the King of England came in person to the Viscount ; but all he could obtain from him was, to send a person once more to the Duke of Lorraine. The Marquis de Gadagne was appointed to carry him the conditions in writing, and to inform him, that he must either that moment sign or fight. He set out, and found the Duke of Lorraine near his batteries. This Prince having read the articles prescribed by Turenne, commanded his gunners, in Gadagne's presence, to fire : but one would have imagined, that they had before been ordered not to obey, and that 'twas merely a feint to gain time. At last, the Duke of Lorraine perceiving Gadagne inflexible, signed the articles ; and Gadagne brought them back to the Viscount, who demanded two hostages for performance.

Scarce was the treaty signed, when the army of the Princes appeared on the other side of the Seine. The Lorrainers left their intrenchments, and filed off before the King's army, which continued in order of battle. Part of Condé's troops, which the Duke of Beaufort had brought, engaged in the King's service, and the rest were permitted to return to Paris. Upon Beaufort's arrival in that city, he insinuated to the Parisians, as though the treaty had been concluded by the sole mediation of the King of England, which exasperated them to such a degree, that no Englishman dared to appear in the streets, during several days, for fear of being insulted by the populace.

The army of Étampes, after the Duke of Lorraine's departure, was retired to Villejuvy : the Prince of Condé who went and assumed the command of it, marched it to St. Cloud, and there encamped along the banks of the river as far as Surenne ; and having secured the bridge, thought himself in no manner of danger, though he had, at most, but six thousand men. In the mean time, the Viscount de Turenne still persisted in the resolution he had taken, to disperse those remaining troops, which were the only support of the rebellion : but perceiving, that which rout soever he might take to march against the enemy, 'twould be always in their power, by the interposition of the Seine, to avoid coming to a battle ; and judging that he could not possibly surmount this obstacle, but by superior force, which would give him an opportunity of attacking them at the same time on both sides of the river, he represented to the Cardinal, how very necessary it was to hasten the march of those troops, which Marshal de la Ferté was bringing from Lorraine. In expectation of this reinforcement, Turenne continued some days at Villeneuve St. Georges. He left it about the end of June, marched very slow, crossed the Marne at Lagni,

An. 1652.  
The armies  
of the Duke  
and of the  
Viscount se-  
parate.

The Prince  
of Condé  
heads again  
the army of  
rebels.

An. 1652. Lagni, and encamped near Dammartin, to cut off the passage of a body of Spanish forces, which were to come from Flanders along the banks of the river Oyse. Some days after, the Royal army, by the reinforcement Marshal de la Ferté brought, being increased to ten or eleven thousand men, went and encamped near St. Denis, whither the Court was come from Melun; and the Viscount gave orders immediately for bringing from Pontoise boats to make a bridge opposite to Epinai, where the island of St. Denis, by dividing the Seine, facilitated the carrying on of that work. The attempts the Prince made to hinder it were fruitless; for the canon planted in the island, of which the Royalists immediately possessed themselves, drove the enemy from the opposite shore; and there remained not above an hundred musketeers, under cover of a *rideau*, whence they fired upon the workmen. La Fitte, a Major of La Ferté's regiment, a resolute experienced Officer, swam over with fifty troopers, cut off the retreat of the hundred foot soldiers, killed several of them, and brought away the rest prisoners in a boat, without losing a man.

The Prince  
of Condé  
de camps, and  
marches to  
Charenton.

July 1.

Condé seeing the bridge was finished, lost all hopes of being able to hinder the passage of the Royalists; and fearing he should soon be attacked by their whole army, resolved to march his own to that neck of land where the Seine and the Marne unite below Charenton, that being the most advantageous post he could pitch upon, in the neighbourhood of Paris. He broke up his camp in the beginning of the night, went over St. Cloud bridge, which he afterwards broke down, crossed the *Bois-de-Boulogne*, arrived at the *Cours-la-Reine*, and intended to proceed through the *Porte de la Conference*; but the Parisians refusing to open it, he spent the night in the *Cours*; and next morning by day-break, in order to reach Charenton, he marched between *Le Roule*



and the *Porte St. Honoré* by *La Ville l'Eveque*, *Les An. 1652.*  
*Porcherons*, the suburbs of *St. Denis* and *St. Mar-*  
*tin*, and by the *Marais*, fearing every step he  
 took that his rear-guard would be attacked. Tu-  
 renne being informed of Condé's motions, set out  
 in the middle of the night, commanded his army  
 to follow him, sent to desire Marshal de la Ferté  
 to come and join him with his troops, which were  
 already on the other side of the *Seine*; and re-  
 solved, without waiting, either for the canon or  
 for Marshal de la Ferté, to attack the Prince before  
 he could reach Charenton. The Viscount went to  
*St. Denis*, to confer there with Cardinal Mazarin,  
 and arrived at *Chapelle*, where he discovered the  
 enemy. Going to reconnoitre them, he found, at July 2.  
 the entrance of the suburb of *St. Denis*, part of  
 their infantry posted in wind-mills and houses: but  
 the musketeers he caused to advance drove them  
 away, and gave the King's horse an opportunity  
 to charge their rear-guard, which, after fighting  
 some time, was routed, and the greatest part of their  
 Officers slain. Turenne still repulsing the rebels,  
 came up, about the hospital of *St. Lewis*, with the  
 rest of their rear-guard, consisting of about three  
 hundred horse, and cut them to pieces.

The Prince, thus vigorously pursued, found it  
 would be impossible for him to reach Charenton,  
 and therefore resolved to retire into the suburb of *St.*  
*Anthony*. Reduced to this extremity, he was glad  
 to find in that suburb, besides the barriers where  
 toll is paid to the King, some intrenchments which  
 had been lately thrown up to stop the incursions of  
 the Duke of Lorraine's troops, when posted at Vil-  
 leneuve *St. Georges*. Immediately he fortifies both,  
 raises new barricades cross the streets; bores holes in  
 the walls of the houses, where he lodges muske-  
 teers; lines with horse and foot all the places by which  
 he may be attacked; gives the command of them to  
 Officers,

The Prince  
 of Condé  
 entrenches  
 himself in  
 the suburb  
 of *St. An-*  
*thony*.

An. 1652. Officers, equally distinguished for their bravery and experience, and makes the large area before St. Anthony's gate a place of arms. In a word, Condé never gave more shining marks of skill in disposing, nor of valour in executing.

The Court is urgent with the Viscount, to attack the Prince sooner than he thought proper.

Turenne having kept very close to the enemy the whole length of the suburbs, was got to that of St. Anthony, where he intended to halt, and not come to action, till Marshal de la Ferté should join him. At the same time the King, the Cardinal, and the whole Court, came to Charonne hill, whence they beheld, as from an amphitheatre, the melancholy scenes of this famous action. As soon as the Royal infantry had joined the cavalry, the Viscount was ordered to attack the suburb without delay. In vain he represented, that as it would be impossible for the enemy to escape, unless the Parisians should open their gates to them, 'twould be rash to attack troops so strongly entrench'd, before he had got artillery, and instruments necessary for beating down the walls, filling up the intrenchments, and forcing the barricades: the Court was so impatient, that no regard was had to his remonstrances; the Duke of Bouillon was more than any body urgent with his brother, and insinuated to him, that should he oppose the Cardinal's will, a suspicion might arise, that he intended to spare the Prince of Condé. However, the Viscount did not acquiesce till orders were sent him a second time, to attack the enemy that moment.

The battle of St. Anthony.

The suburb of St. Anthony consists of three principal streets, which terminate at the gate of the city, as their center, forming a kind of duck's foot; and these three streets are cross'd by several others. The Viscount first extended his army on a curve line from the foot of Charonne to the river of Seine, to stop every outlet to the Prince's forces. He gave orders for three attacks at the same time,


time. Turenne gave the command of that on the right, towards Charonne, to the Marquis de St. Mégrin\* ; that on the left, towards the Seine, to the Marquis de Navailles† ; himself taking charge of the middle attack by the high-street. He exhorted the officers to possess themselves of the cross-streets, in proportion as they should advance in the suburb, that the several bodies of troops, by this communication, might have an opportunity of uniting and succouring one another in the great streets. These dispositions being made, the King's troops marched to the intrenchments of the rebels, who made a dreadful fire, but they were drove from them by a superior fire, and the Royalists came up to the barricades. The Marquis de St. Mégrin at the head of the French guards, and de la Marine's regiment, sustained by the gendarmes and the light horse, attacked that of Charonne-street, and made himself master of it in spite of the fire which was poured in on all sides from the houses and the walls. Immediately the gendarmes and the light horse rushed into this street, got before the infantry, without giving them time to drive the rebels out of the neighbouring houses, and, with an indiscreet ardour, pursued the runaways to the market-place\*. The Prince being there, advanced at the head of twenty officers and volunteers, who were near him, and charged them so vigorously, that they were forced back upon their infantry ; these, as well as the cavalry, being now put into disorder, were repulsed by the rebels, and drove back again to the first barricade, those that were lodged in the houses firing on them all that time. The Marquis de St. Mégrin and the Marquis de Mancini the Cardinal's nephew lost their lives in the action.

\* James Stuart de Caussade Prince of Carençy, Marquis of St. Mégrin, and Count of Vauguyon.

† Philip de Montault de Foix, afterwards Peer and Marshal of France.

‡ The Duke of York's Memoirs.

An. 1652.

 Rage of the  
soldiers on  
both sides.

During this engagement on the right, Turenne's regiment of foot on the left, towards Charenton-street, drove the rebels out of several houses and some gardens, where they were posted; but having advice of Mégrin's defeat, and fearing its retreat should be cut off, it halted, and contented itself with maintaining what it had won. The regiments of Uxelles and Carignan attacked, farther up to the left, the walls of a garden: tho' their two Lieutenant Colonels had lost their lives at the first onset, the soldiers advanced of themselves; and notwithstanding the great fire poured in upon them, they marched up to the intervals of the openings, through which the rebels fired; and now muskets being of no use, they made use of pistols; they threw stones at one another, and thrust their swords through the holes which they widened with their hands, for want of proper instruments. During this conflict, which was carried on a long time with a kind of mad fury, the two regiments were sustained by a squadron of horse drawn out of the regiments of Clare and Richelieu, which being put into disorder at first, rallied afterwards, and maintained its post to the end of the action \*. A little nearer the river, close by Rambouillet-garden, the Marquis de Navailles storm'd the barricade that was before him, dislodged the enemy from the houses, and obliged them to retire behind the neighbouring gardens, whither some of their infantry were already arrived: Eclairvilliers a Major General in the Royal army, mistaking their retreat for a flight, passed the barricade with the horse under his command: They faced about at the same time, and perceiving he could not advance above two in front against them, charged him before half his men were got thorough, or he could draw them up; defeated him, took him prisoner, killed a great number of his troops, and some offi-

\* The Duke of York's Memoirs.



cers; and after pursuing the rest to the barricade, retired through the midst of a brisk fire made by the King's infantry, who had seized upon the houses the rebels had just before abandoned. An. 1652.

The Viscount de Turenne, who till now had engaged in the other attacks, advanced at length into the high-street, the barrier of which he had already cut, in spite of the great resistance made by those who defended it. He was marching in order through this street, bearing down all before him, and was upon the point of winning the first traverses, when Condé checked his progress †. This Prince formed a squadron of all the persons of Quality in his army, who were not in commission, and of such Gentlemen as were attached to him, rushed upon the King's troops, made them give way, and beat them back to the barricade. The Viscount getting together a body which had not yet engaged, while the Prince was letting his men take breath, forced his way a second time through the barricade, bore down all who opposed him, broke through several traverses, and got to St. Anthony's Abbey, in the midst of the suburb; but Condé rushed again upon him with fresh vigour, and again repulsed him. No action was ever disputed with more steady, obstinate valour: the two Generals covered with blood, and perpetually exposed to the fire of the musketeers, who shot from the houses to the right and left, fought often opposite to one another within pistol-shot; the martial fury of the one and the coolness of the other form'd a contrast, the sight of which raised admiration and terror. At last, the Viscount seeing it would not be possible for him to force this body of chosen horse, detached some troops from his attack, who went and rein-

The Viscount is repulsed twice by the Prince of Condé.

† It appears from the Memoirs of de la Rochefoucault, and by the MSS. Hist. of Abbé Raguenet, that this action is not the same with that in Charenton-street, where St. Mégrin was killed.

An. 1652. forced those under the Marquis de Navailles, in order  
 to charge Condé behind and surround him\*.

Brave action  
 of the Dukes  
 of Beaufort  
 and Ne-  
 mours.

That moment Marshal de la Ferté's troops arrived with the canon. They planted six guns at the entrance of the high-street, which soon cleared it of all the soldiers that were there: they afterwards fired upon the houses which defended the pass of the barricade. As the walls were very thin, the balls easily pierced them; however, the rebels maintained themselves resolutely in the houses, and continued to fire from the windows. In the mean time the Duke of Beaufort, who had spent the whole morning to no purpose in haranguing the Parisians, to exhort them to open their gates to the Prince, came out of Paris, and, fired with emulation, resolved to signalize himself by some shining action. Having proposed to the Duke de Nemours the recovering of the barricade which the Marquis de Navailles had won, and by that means to prevent the Prince's forces from being surrounded, he posted himself with the Duke, at the head of a body of foot: these being joined by the Duke de la Rochefoucault, and several persons of Quality, who were still in a condition to fight, they all marched with intrepidity between the fires of du Pleffis-Praslin's and Douglass's regiments, posted on the two sides of the passage; however, the regiment of Picardy which defended the barricade repulsed them with so much vigour, that they could not force it †. The Duke de Nemours was wounded in several parts of the body, the Duke de la Rochefoucault in the corner of his eye, not to mention several other persons of distinction that were kill'd or wounded. The Viscount, who at the discharge of the fire-arms had hastened thither, finding the post still maintained, and

\* MSS. Hist. of Raguenet.

† The Duke of York's Memoirs, which are here preferred to those of Rochefoucault.

in good condition, returned to the fight in the high-street, where the enemy posted in the houses on the left hand of the barricade still held out. As he had discovered a place which was not guarded, he caus'd some of his troopers to alight, and these stealing behind, surrounded and forc'd these houses, where a hundred men, who had so long defended them, were all put to the sword †. At the same time the regiments of Uxelles and Carignan, which had all along fought through the holes of a wall, by continuing to enlarge those holes at length made it tumble, and drove the enemy out of all the gardens to the left †.

The Prince of Condé's troops being now dishearten'd by so many attacks, were seiz'd with terror, abandoned the barricades and the traverses, and retiring into the place of arms before St. Anthony's gate, refus'd to advance, and would no longer obey. The Viscount being now resolved to make a general attack, did not think proper to pursue them; whilst he allow'd his troops a few moments to take breath, he caus'd the artillery to be brought forward towards the place of arms, and the signal being given, they began the general attack. A dreadful slaughter was now going to be made of the Prince's troops, thus hemm'd in and crouded in the place of arms, when the Parisians, who having stood neuter hitherto and only as spectators, seeing the extremity to which the Prince was reduced, declared in his favour, and opened the City gate. The canon of the Bastille firing at the same time, kept the Viscount from pursuing the enemy into Paris.

The Parisians, prejudiced by the artifices of Cardinal de Retz, and imagining that a peace was made, by which they were excluded, had considered the beginning of this action as a farce that was

*The Parisians open their gates to the Prince's forces.*

*The Princess de Montpensier raises the Parisians against the King.*

† The Duke of York's Memoirs.

\* Ibid.

An. 1652. playing in concert with Mazarin. De Retz, delighted with the thoughts of seeing the Prince cut to pieces, did not stir from the Duke of Orleans, but was for ever dissuading him from going out and hazarding his person. On the other side, the Princess de Montpensier did her utmost to wake Gaston her father out of the lethargy into which de Retz had thrown him. At last, having extorted from him the orders she wanted, she herself carried them to the Town-house, went from street to street to rouse the people, excited them to take up arms, and detached part of them to skirmish, at the time that the canon of the Bastille was firing on the King's army, and the Prince's troops were entering the City. Condé cross'd Paris, marched his army beyond St. Victor's suburb, towards the salt-peter works, and intrenched himself between the Seine and the little river of the Gobelins, where, as Paris lay behind him, he thought he could neither be forced nor starved.

Massacre in  
the Town-  
hall.

Two days after this battle a great tumult happen'd in Paris. A council, at which the representatives of the several Livery-companies assisted, was holding in the Town-house. Proposals were there made, to declare the Duke of Orleans LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF THE KINGDOM, to sentence Cardinal Mazarin to perpetual banishment, to appoint the Duke of Beaufort Governor of Paris, in the room of the Marshal de l'Hôpital, and to make Broussel Prevost of the Merchants. The Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé, who were there in the beginning, coming out, to leave the council free to debate on the articles proposed, a company of armed men, seemingly of all conditions, came tumultuously to the *Grève*, and after crying aloud, that the Prince of Condé's will should be obeyed in all things, they attempted to force the Town-house, set fire to the gates, and shot at such as were at the windows. The flames soon began to spread, when most of those



those who were in the Town-house either rushed An. 1652. down by the stair case, or threw themselves out of the lower windows; and now the mutineers confounding the Frondeurs with the Royalists, butchered all without distinction. This dreadful tumult, which lasted till very near midnight, could not be suppress'd, till the Duke of Beaufort, who was the idol of the people, came up. The cause of this disaster has never been exactly known. There is some reason to believe, that the Prince of Condé had posted certain soldiers in disguise, to intimidate the assembly, and prevent its coming to any resolutions contrary to his interest: but they very probably exceeded his orders; nevertheless, the bare suspicion of this inspired the Parisians with a violent hatred against the Prince; and this assembly, which the Fronde believed would prove its security, was one of the chief causes of its ruin. The assembly met again on the succeeding days, and most of the articles concluded upon were according to the Prince of Condé's directions.

The Spaniards taking advantage of the troubles which distressed the Capital of the Kingdom, recovered in a little time, on the frontier which was now unguarded, several strong holds they had lost the preceding years. In this situation of things the Prince of Condé represented to the Archduke, that he was no longer able to keep the field; and that if stronger succours were not sent him, it would not be possible for him long to make head against the King's army. The Archduke fearing the Prince would abandon the party, and being now under no apprehensions of any thing on the side of Flanders, ordered Fuenfaldagne to march his army into France, and join the forces of the Duke of Lorrain, who, pursuant to his custom, had again broke his treaty with the Court, and entred into new engagements with the Archduke. These two bodies united,

The Spaniards march an army of 20000 men, to succour the Prince of Condé.

An. 1652. making upwards of 20000 fighting men, were to march with the Prince of Condé, to cut in pieces the King's army, which was no more than 8000 men.

The Court  
resolves to  
retire to Ly-  
ons, and the  
Viscount  
opposes this  
design,

The Court which had resided at St. Denis, being alarmed at this news, resolved to remove farther from Paris, and to seek an Asylum in some of the provinces. Roan and Dijon having refused to receive it, except the Cardinal were dismissed at the same time, the Queen turned her views to Lyons, and resolved to convey the King thither, under a guard of 2000 men\*. Turenne was told this at St. Denis by his brother the Duke of Bouillon, and foreseeing the fatal consequences of it, he went and represented to the Cardinal, “ That the Court’s re-  
“ treat to such a distance would infallibly occasion the  
“ loss of all the strong holds on the frontiers of Pi-  
“ cardy, Champagne and Lorraine; that when these  
“ Provinces should be abandon’d, all the inhabitants  
“ of them would join either with the Spaniards or the  
“ Princes; that other provinces would be excited by  
“ their example to take up arms, which would per-  
“ haps reduce the Court to the necessity of leaving  
“ the Kingdom: that it was more decent, and even  
“ safer, to remove the King to Pontoise, attended  
“ by his usual guard; that this post, which might  
“ be easily defended, would secure him from any  
“ attempts of the Parisians, who besides were very  
“ much alienated from the Princes, ever since the  
“ massacre in the Town-house; that he himself  
“ would march the army to Compiègne, to observe  
“ the motions of Fuenfaldagne; that then the Spa-  
“ nish General would be afraid of marching to  
“ Paris, since he thereby would leave Flanders  
“ undefended, and the King’s army would lie be-  
“ tween his and that country; that the Spaniards  
“ would certainly imagine there was something

\* See the Viscount’s Memoirs.

“ mysterious

“ myſterious in the march of his Maſteſty's forces  
 “ to Compiègne, and be perſuaded, that the Court  
 “ would not have dar'd to venture it, had they not  
 “ been firmly perſuaded, ſome reconciliation would  
 “ be made with the Prince of Condé.”

The Cardinal was ſenſible of the ſtrength and ſolidity of the Viſcount's reaſons; accordingly, the journey to Lyons was laid aſide, the Court remov'd to Pontoife, and the army arrived in three days at Compiègne. Fuenſaldagne was advanced as far as Chauni, where the Duke d'Elbeuf very imprudently ſuffered himſelf to be ſhut up with ſeven or eight hundred horſe he had raiſed in his government of Picardy: the enemy had cut off all the paſſes; the town was in a weak condition; he was forced to ſurrender, after ſuſtaining only a two day's ſiege; and by the capitulation, the troopers were obliged to leave their horſes with the Spaniards. The Viſcount de Turenne had wiſely foreſeen, that his march to Compiègne would ſtop the Enemy. After the taking of Chauni, which they abandoned, they did not attempt the ſiege of any other place, but contented themſelves with laying waſte the country, fearing to advance farther up into it, and for ever ſuſpecting ſome ſecret reconciliation between the rebels and the Court; they returned into Flanders, leaving on the frontiers the Duke of Lorrain with his forces, and a detachment of their army commanded by Duke Ulrick of Wirtemberg, to ſuccour the Princes whenever they ſhould aſk aſſiſtance.

The Viſcount drives the Spaniards out of France.  
 17 July.

The Spaniards were no ſooner returned to Flanders, but the Viſcount de Turenne in the beginning of May marched back his army to the neighbourhood of Paris, within a league of Gonneſſe, and it continued there to the end of the month. During this ſpace he was obliged to go to Pontoife, upon a very melancholy occaſion, for the Duke of Bouillon had fallen ſick of a fever there, which carried him off in a few

Death of the Duke of Bouillon.

An. 1652. few days. He was beginning to be considered as a superior genius, and more capable of presiding in the administration than even Mazarin himself; and the Queen was going to entrust him with the general superintendence of the Finances. “ His death, says “ the Duke of Rochefoucault, ought to give men a “ distaste for those plans they form for their own ex- “ altation. The Duke of Bouillon’s ambition was “ supported by all the great qualities that were ca- “ pable of making it successful. He was brave, and “ perfectly well skilled in the science of war; “ master of an easy, natural and insinuating elo- “ quence; a man of sound sense, and a wonderful pe- “ netration; of a head clear and unclouded, fruitful “ in expedients, and able to carry on the most dif- “ ficult affairs: he listened to all counsels that were “ given him calmly, attentively, and with a certain “ delicacy, which set off the reasons of others, and “ made his resolutions seem to be the effect of their “ arguments. His stubborn fortune continually op- “ posed the measures of his prudence, and he died “ just as his prudence had got the better of his un- “ just fortune\*.” The Viscount de Turenne was less afflicted for the loss of a Chief of his Family, whose merit was so conspicuous, than for that of a brother, for whom he had the most tender affection; but his grief, how great soever, did not suspend the application he thought due to the urgent necessities of the State.

The Parlia-  
ment divided  
into two  
parts.

Whilst the Court was at Pontoise, the Chambers of the Parliament, animated by the Prince of Condé’s faction, met, and gave an arret, declaring, that as the King, prejudiced by the pernicious counsels of the Cardinal, could not be looked upon as free, the Duke of Orleans, to preserve the State from the impending ruin with which it was threat-

\* MSS. Mem. de la Rochefoucault, cited by Abbé Ragueneau, as having been seen by Cardinal de Bouillon.



ned by the ambition of Cardinal Mazarin, should be desired to take upon himself the title of his Majesty's Lieutenant General throughout the whole Kingdom, so long as the Minister should continue in France. Gaston having accepted of the title which was offered him, advice was sent of it to all the Governours of Provinces, and this Prince chose himself a Council: the Dukes of Nemours and Beaufort being members of it, quarrelled about precedence, fought, and the former was kill'd. The King, exasperated against the Parliament, published a declaration, by which he removed this tribunal from Paris to Pontoise: all the Presidents à *Mortier*, Nemond and Maisons excepted, obeyed, with fourteen or fifteen Counsellors, and came to the place appointed by the King. At the opening of the sessions, the declaration which removed the Parliament was ratified, and all who had continued in Paris were suspended from the exercise of their functions.

The Members of Parliament sitting at Pontoise had little more affection for Mazarin than the rest of their brethren: they were no sooner met, but they represented to the Minister, that 'twas in his power to restore the publick tranquillity; that as his presence was the pretence for the Factions, these would immediately cease upon his leaving the Kingdom: that in case they should subsist after his departure, all honest men would then be convinced that the malecontents harboured ill designs, and would unanimously endeavour to get him recall'd with honour. The Cardinal struck with these remonstrances, consulted the Viscount de Turenne, who thinking them judicious, advised him to retire for a time; but not to give out that he would never come back, in order to prevent his enemies from exclaiming against him, upon his return, as guilty of breach of promise. At last the Cardinal resolved to sacri-

Cardinal  
Mazarin  
leaves the  
kingdom a  
second time,  
and retires to  
Bouillon.

An. 1652. fice himself for some months, and very artfully engaged the Queen to cause a decree to be past by the Parliament at Pontoise, for making most humble remonstrances to the King, and supplicating his Majesty to restore peace to his people, by removing the Prime Minister. The King made answer, that notwithstanding Cardinal Mazarin had served him very well, and was only a pretext for the malecontents to disturb the Government, he yet would consent to deprive himself of a good Minister, in order to pacify his Kingdom, and bring back the rebels to their allegiance. Immediately after, the Cardinal having confided the administration to le Tellier and Servien his faithful friends, given his Majesty a paper of instruction for his conduct on all occasions, and relying entirely on the Queen, who had been ever steady to him, he set out with a large retinue, went and lay at Meaux, and retired to Bouillon.

10 August.

The Duke of Lorraine returns to France a second time.

The Prince of Condé was still encamped under the walls of Paris. He had not forces enough to venture a battle, and was afraid, in case he removed from this city, that the King's party, which increased daily ever since the Cardinal's absence, would get the ascendant. In the mean time the Duke of Lorraine was marching towards Paris at the head of his 10000 men, with the reinforcement of 6000 Spaniards commanded by the Duke of Wirtemberg. The Viscount having advice, that he took the rout of Champagne, to join the army of the Prince of Condé, marched towards the Marne, crossed the river at Lagni, and advanced to the little village of St Germain near Cressy in Brie: there he received orders from Court, not to act against the Duke of Lorraine in any manner, unless that Prince should remove from the place where he was encamped, and march towards Paris. The Duke had renewed his negotiations with the Court, by which means he

he hoped to meet with an opportunity of advancing nearer to the Prince of Condé, without being obliged to fight. Turenne being perfectly well acquainted with his character, after telling the Duke of York, that he would rather expose himself to lose his head, by disobeying orders, than betray the interest of his Majesty, in suffering himself to be over-reached by the Duke of Lorraine, broke up his camp the next morning, and marched to Brie-Comte-Robert, to have the better opportunity of intercepting him in his march. His Quarter-masters found those of the Duke there, who intended to encamp in that place the same night; upon which, the Viscount having consulted with Marshal de la Ferté, changed his resolution, and marched directly to Ville-neuve St. George. He himself went before with all his cavalry; the infantry followed him with the canon, and Marshal de la Ferté headed the rear-guard. Turenne was justly apprehensive, that the Duke of Lorraine would also change his design, and that sensible of the importance of that post, he would possess himself of it before him, and he was not mistaken in his conjectures. Tho' he marched with the utmost diligence, yet the Lorraine van-guard arriv'd before him at Ville-neuve St. George, whence the Duke sent advice to the Prince of Condé, that he had possess'd himself of it. But tho' the Duke was master of this place, and part of his troops had cross'd the river Yeres, yet the Viscount arriving with his van-guard at the hill which commands the town, drove the Lorrainers from it, and seized upon the bridge. Marshal de la Ferté came up towards the evening with the rest of the army; and the enemy having missed the post, marched a league higher up, along the Seine, opposite to the castle of Ablon, where the Prince joined them a few days after.

An. 1652.

The Prince  
of Condé and  
the Duke of  
Lorraine en-  
deavour to  
block up the  
Viscount in  
his camp.

The enemy being greatly superior in numbers, were persuaded they should now be able to starve the Royal army, by blocking it up between the rivers of Seine and Yeres. The Viscount had bread for but five days; he was in want of forrage, and he could not procure any in the neighbourhood, because the whole country was laid waste. He had had the precaution to stop at Villeneuve St. Georges the day he arrived there twenty five boats, which were going down the river; these boats saved the army; they were immediately used for the making two bridges cross the Seine; in which work beams taken from the houses of the town were also employed; such Officers as had money gave it for the workmen; and in spite of the difficulties, which at first appeared insurmountable, the bridges were soon finished; and works were thrown up with equal dispatch, to secure the entrances of them on the other side of the Seine \*. This communication furnished the soldiers with bread, and the horses with forrage, the latter having hitherto had no other provender but vine-leaves. The Marshals de Turenne and de la Ferté resolved at the same time to fortify themselves in their post, and joined, by lines, the six redoubts the Duke of Lorraine had raised near Limei three months before, and which were still entire. The Royal army posted between Limei and the river Yeres, which served as a foss to the camp, extended on one side to the Seine, and on the other was covered by a wood. The enemy, seeing the eight thousand men who composed it thus entrenched, were afraid of making any attempt, though with twenty thousand, and persisted in the resolution of starving it, by blocking it up on all sides. To confine it within still narrower bounds, they broke up their camp, having first put a garrison in Ablon; the Duke of Lorraine marched his troops higher up the river Yeres, passed

\* The Duke of York's Memoirs.



it, and came and posted himself between Brie-Comte-Robert and the camp of the two Generals, whilst the Prince of Condé advanced towards Limei. The Duke and the Prince being both entrenched within canon shot of the Royal army, investing, and as it were besieging it in the angle made by the two rivers, sent advice to Paris, that they had at last reduced the Royalists to the necessity of fighting, or dying with hunger. As it was now believed that the Viscount must inevitably be defeated, his conduct was openly and universally censured; and some did not even scruple to charge him with holding a correspondence with the enemy\*. The Court had never been in so great a perplexity: Cardinal Mazarin had left France; the Duke of Bouillon was just dead; the Parliament had declared the Duke of Orleans Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, and the Prince of Condé Generalissimo of the Crown armies: The Ministers, trembling with fear, made this Prince extravagant offers, who, considering himself now as master, rejected with disdain all proposals of accommodation, how advantageous soever; but Turenne's great capacity enabled him to frustrate the mighty hopes with which Condé had flattered himself.


The first thing the Prince, after entrenching himself, took care of, was to make a bridge of boats, in order to cut off Turenne's communication with Corbeil; while the Duke of Lorraine, to interrupt that with Brie, was sending out parties continually. The Viscount, by taking the castle of Ablon before the bridge was built, defeated all Condé's measures, and secured, by means of the Seine, the communication between his camp and Corbeil, whither Vaubecourt † brought two thousand men, and

Viscount de Turenne frustrates the hopes of the two Princes during six weeks.

\* MSS. Mem. of Raguenet.

† This body of two thousand men came from the siege of Montrond, which had surrendered.

where

An. 1652. where an hundred troopers were already posted.  Detachments from these troops were every day sent out, as well as from those of the camp, which cours'd along the banks of the Seine; and the foragers were always guarded by large escorts of foot and horse. The foragers used to set out in the night, cross the river Essone, go and forage undisturbed on the other side of Corbeil, come back to that place and stop there, or else return to the camp, by this or that side of the river, according as there was more or less danger, of which they had advice by the detachments which were for ever upon the scout. This lasted for five weeks together, during which not a single skirmish was fought between the two armies, nor one convoy carried off; and to these convoys was owing the preservation of the Royal army which the Prince of Condé had vainly flattered himself with the hopes of destroying by famine.

The Parisians are inclined to favour the Court.

The Parisians bore for some time, patiently enough, the troublesome neighbourhood of the two armies, upon the promise the Prince of Condé made, to deliver them soon from it: but finding the hopes he fed them with, were merely illusive, they made serious reflections on their own infatuation, in suffering themselves to be prey'd upon by foreigners, merely to satisfy the ambition of those to whom they had abandoned themselves. Cardinal de Retz, whose sole aim was to get Mazarin's place, and ruin the Prince of Condé, set every engine at work to increase the misunderstanding. The friends of the Parliament being very much divided among themselves, disagreed still more with the Princes; the Princes themselves were disunited, and no longer relied on the Parliament: the people, ever since the massacre in the Town-house, discovered, by their frequent tumults, the detestation in which they held the *Frondeurs*, whether of the sword or the gown. In this situation of things, the

the loyal part of the Parisians soon made their fellow citizens sensible of the abyss of calamities into which Condé's ambition, and the private views of the malecontents were going to plunge them ; and by this means inspired them with sentiments more conformable to their duty \*.

The Queen being almost certain that the Parisians were now inclined to favour the Court, imagined, that by recalling the army near the King's person, she should forward the conclusion of the reconciliation which was then negotiating, and therefore sent orders to the Viscount de Turenne and Marshal de la Ferté to endeavour to get free, and come and join the Court. The roads being now much spoilt by the rains began to put a stop to their foraging, so that the Generals, who already were determined to remove, soon threw several bridges over the river Yeres towards the Seine : at the same time they sent orders to Vaubecourt, who was in Corbeil, to raise some redoubts on an eminence before the city for the reception of the army ; and set out in the night between the fourth and fifth of October. They filed off in good order along the banks of the Seine with the utmost silence, having the instant the army had got over the Yeres caused the bridges to be broke down. The Duke of Lorraine was ignorant of the retreat of the two Generals till the next day. Had the Prince of Condé, whose health had obliged him to remove to Paris, been at that time in the army, their march perhaps would not have been a secret to him ; but then it would have been scarce possible for him to oppose it. After marching a league the army was covered all the way on one side by the river Seine, and on the other by the forest of Senard, so that the enemy could not charge it in the flank. All the troops arrived at

An. 1652.  
The Viscount de-camps to go and join the Court.

October 5 :

\* The Duke of York's Memoirs.

An. 1652. Corbeil before day ; and though they were to rest themselves there but one night, they threw up intrenchments fortified with palisades, to prevent their being surprized. Turenne and la Ferté intending to cross the Marne at Meaux, in order to join the Court at Mantes, went by Chaumes ; and fearing an attack they marched the troops in two columns, in such an order, that if the enemy had appeared the army would have been in a posture to receive them, by only facing to the left. The rebels not daring to make any attempt that day, the army advanced the day following, with less apprehension, by Prêle, Tournan and Quinci, as far as the Marne, which it crossed near Meaux ; whence it marched by Mount l'Eveque, and encamped at Courtevil in the neighbourhood of Senlis.

The Viscount brings back the King to Paris.

So surprizing a retreat, made in presence of the enemy much superior in numbers, compleated the ruin of the Prince's credit with the Parisians. The season advanced, and the country being now quite laid waste, could not furnish any more provisions. These considerations obliged Condé to retire, with the Duke of Lorraine, into the neighbourhood of Laon, where Fuenfaldagne's forces were encamped. The army of the Princes passed in its march near that of the King, the fourteenth of October ; and the moment it was gone, the Viscount, leaving the command to Marshal de la Ferté, went and waited upon the Court at Mantes, to persuade it to return to Paris. He represented to the Ministers, that they ought to take advantage of the Prince of Condé's absence, and not give the Parisians time to come off from the hatred they bore to the *Frondeurs* ; that as the Officers daily left the army for want of money, the King would soon be left without troops ; that the Court would not be in a condition, the next campaign, to make head against the enemy, whose forces would then be augmented ; that



the Parisians would be less inclined to receive the King, and that other cities would follow the example of the capital. The Court yielded to his reasons, left Mantes, and went and lay at St. Germain: it continued here three or four days, after which having given audience to some Deputies who came from Paris to supplicate his Majesty to return thither, it proceeded by St. Cloud-bridge. As it was advancing near the Bois de Boulogne, some persons, whether with a good or ill design, is not known; gave an alarm, declaring that it was rashly hazarding the King's person to carry him to Paris, since the Duke of Orleans and the Princess his daughter were caballing there in order to raise a new rebellion. The King's coach stopt, and the Queen having ordered the Ladies who were with her to alight, held a council in the open field with Prince Thomas, the Viscount de Turenne, and the Marshals de Villeroi and du Pleffis. All but Turenne were of opinion, that it would be best for the Court to go back; but he still persisting in his first opinion, and supporting it by new reasons, remonstrated, that the King's return to St. Germain would equally prejudice his interest and his honour; that this last step would betray a want of resolution, which would bring the Court into contempt, damp the courage of all loyal subjects, and raise the hopes of the rebels; and finally, that he considered either as secret enemies, or as weak minds, those who had come and alarmed the Court so unseasonably. The Queen who was naturally couragious followed without once hesitating the advice of Turenne; and accordingly the King at the head of his Guards entered the city through St. Honore's-Gate, was received every where with acclamations, and followed to the Louvre by a crowd of people, who were for ever crying, LONG LIVE THE KING. The day after the Court was arrived, the Duke of Orleans

An. 1652. withdrew first to Limours, and afterwards to Blois, and the Princess, his daughter, went to St. Fargeau. The Chambers of the Parliament met at the Louvre, according to the order sent them for that purpose; there four declarations were ratified; for the reunion of the Parliament of Pontoise with that of Paris; for a general pardon in favour of those who should return to their allegiance in a fortnight; for prohibiting the Parliament to concern itself with affairs of State; and for obliging twelve either Presidents or Counsellors to depart: moreover the Dukes of Beaufort, Rohan, and Rochefoucault, and all the domestics of the Prince of Condé and the Duchess of Longueville, were forbid to appear in Paris. This great city was soon restored to order, and the calm which succeeded obliterated the remembrance of all the feuds and divisions the *Fronde* had occasioned.

The Prince of Condé retires to the frontiers, and takes several towns.

The Prince of Condé was the only one who refused to accept of the pardon: he chose to go over to the Spaniards and lose all his estates and employments in France, rather than live in that Kingdom with Cardinal Mazarin, who was recalled soon after. The Prince retired to the frontiers of Champagne with the Duke of Lorraine, the Duke of Wirtemberg and the Count de Fuenfaldagne. He took in a short time Chateau-Porcien, Rhezel, Mousson and Sainte Menchault; he disbanded the Duke of Orleans's troops that were in his army, and permitted them to return into France, on condition that they should not serve the King the remainder of the campaign. The enemy after this seized upon Bar-le-Duc, from whence Fuenfaldagne retired into Flanders with the greatest part of his troops, not doubting but the Prince of Condé and the Duke of Lorraine would be strong enough to make themselves masters of the whole country of Bar: and indeed they soon took Ligni, Void, and Com-

Commerci; resolved to fix their winter quarters in the country, after which they flattered themselves with the thoughts of returning into France in the spring\*.

The Viscount de Turenne would not leave the Court, till such time as the King's authority was fully re-established in Paris: the moment he found all things were restored to their former tranquillity, he again opened the campaign in a season when 'tis generally ended. He set out the thirtieth of October after telling his Majesty, that he hoped he should be able to hinder the enemy from taking winter-quarters in the Kingdom, and put himself at the head of the army, which had been reinforced with two thousand men; in the mean time Marshal de la Feré went to his Government of Nanci. Turenne advanced towards Lorrain, and without setting down before the small towns the Prince had taken, and which he had garrisoned with part of his troops, marched directly to the enemy; he arrived at Vaucouleurs, there cross'd the Meuse, behind which they were posted in the neighbourhood of Toul, obliged them to decamp, and still pursued them. The Prince, who had very few infantry left, first retired from the Castle of Void to Commerci, thence to St. Mihiel; whence he set out suddenly, with an intention to reach Damvilliers in Luxemburg. The Viscount did not think proper to go farther than St. Mihiel: he was satisfied with his having forced Condé to leave the Kingdom, and now thought only of giving his army some refreshment, the soldiers being prodigiously fatigued by the great number of painful marches. As the enemy had exhausted the Country of provisions, and the inhabitants of St. Mihiel refused to supply him, he was obliged, in order to keep his army from perishing with hunger, to let his infantry enter by force into their city, and to

The Viscount pursues him, and forces him to leave the Kingdom.

October 30.

\* The Duke of York's Memoirs.

An. 1652. distribute the cavalry up and down in the neighbouring villages. The troops were in great want of this refreshment, but they could not enjoy it long. Marshal de la Ferté, to whom the inhabitants of St. Mihiel complained, was very much offended at the Viscount for his having quartered his troops by violence, in a city of his government. Transported with anger, he came from Nanci to St. Mihiel, and spoke in very harsh terms to the Viscount, who endeavoured to pacify him, by remonstrating to him, that what he had done had been the effect of necessity, and merely for the sake of preserving the Royal army: Notwithstanding these reasons, he was obliged to remove the next day, and la Ferté who was still exasperated, followed Turenne's troops at the head of his guards, and charged those who lagged behind. The effects of this resentiment were afterwards yet more prejudicial to the King's interest\*.

The Viscount besieges Bar-le-Duc, and Cardinal Mazarin arrives in the camp.

Whilst the Marshal went and besieged Ligni, the Viscount invested Bar-le-Duc. The night of his arrival before it, he raised a battery against the lower-town, and though he had nothing but field-pieces, and but few of these, they made the very first day a great breach in the walls near the gate, which was flanked with only two small round towers. The besiegers, notwithstanding the great fire that was made from the towers, not only stormed the breach, but also drove the besieged from the barricades they had raised in the streets, and pursued them to the upper-town. After the infantry was lodged under covert in the lower city, and the cavalry distributed in quarters in the neighbourhood, Turenne laid siege to the upper-town and the castle. The day that the lower-town was taken, Cardinal Mazarin arrived at the camp with a reinforcement of troops drawn out of different garrisons, and com-



manded by the Duke d'Elbeuf and Marshal d'Aumont; and these forces were soon joined by those of Marshal de la Ferté, who came to the siege after the taking of Ligni. The Prince of Condé, to prevent the taking of Bar, resolved to succour it; and advice being brought of his march, it was agreed that Turenne and la Ferté should go and meet him with the greatest part of the horse, three thousand foot, and six field pieces; that the Cardinal should follow them at some distance, whilst the Duke d'Elbeuf and Marshal d'Aumont with the rest of the troops should continue the siege.

The enemy were coming by the way of Vaubecourt, which is but five leagues from Bar: the King's army marched directly towards them; and the Viscount, who headed the vanguard, hearing that the Prince of Condé was just arrived in this village, and would spend the night there, proposed to Marshal de la Ferté, to go and attack the enemy, who would infallibly be in very great disorder, because, as that quarter was crowded with vessels of wine and provisions of every kind, 'twould be difficult for the Officers to assemble their troops, and even for the troopers to mount: the Marshal, being still angry with the Viscount, would not agree to this attack, without first advising with the Cardinal, whose approbation, though he were but two leagues off, came too late. The Prince having notice of the Viscount's approach, gave orders for beating the *general*, and, in order to force the troops to remove the sooner, he set fire to the town. He did not think proper to stay longer in this country, when he found that the King's army was strong enough both to engage him and to continue the siege. When Turenne and la Ferté were certain that the enemy had marched away, they returned before Bar-le-Duc, which was taken in a few days.

A considerable error committed by Marshal de la Ferté, and the taking of Bar-le-Duc.

An. 1652.

The taking  
of Porcien  
castle and  
Vervins, and  
end of the  
campaign.

The Cardinal being animated by these successes, and judging it would not be proper to leave so formidable an enemy as the Prince of Condé the least resource for the next year, was for having St. Menchoult and Rethel taken that campaign; but the cold was so excessive, that there was no attempting it. There was no shelter in the wide-extended plains of Champagne for the foot, nor forrage in the neighbourhood for the horse. The campaign was closed with recovering Chateau-Porcien and Vervins: from thence the army marched to Cressy, on the Serre, and to Laon, whence all the troops were sent into winter-quarters; after which the Cardinal, the Generals, and the chief Officers set out for Paris. Thus ended this long laborious campaign, in which Viscount de Turenne saved the Monarchy several times by his counsels and his valour. In the mean time his Majesty's arms were not so fortunate abroad as within the Kingdom: In Flanders the Spaniards recovered Gravelin and Dunkirk, in Italy Casal and in Spain Barcelona. It was a sufficient advantage for this year, the having forced the Prince of Condé to leave the Kingdom.

Cardinal de  
Retz is im-  
prisoned.

Decemb. 19.

Not the least shadow of the *Fronde* was now to be seen in Paris: Cardinal de Retz was the only person that would have been capable of giving the Court the least uneasiness; but to prevent his creating any fresh troubles, the King had caused him to be arrested in his name at the Louvre in the Queen's anti-chamber, and carried to the Bois de Vincennes, where he was confined, after having employed four years in intrigues, cabals, dark and treacherous actions, over which he often throws a false varnish in his memoirs, denies them sometimes when he cannot palliate them, and, whenever he does avow them, 'tis merely from that audacious spirit in which he gloried.

THE

T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E  
Viscount de TURENNE.

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BOOK the FOURTH.


**T**HE Viscount de Turenne, about the be-<sup>An. 1653.</sup>ginning of the year 1653, married Charlotte de Caumont, only daughter and heiress <sup>The Vis-</sup> of Armand de Nompar de Caumont Duke de la <sup>count mar-</sup> Force, Peer and Marshal of France. Her birth and fortune distinguished her less than her virtues and superior understanding; noble elevated sentiments, with those parts of knowledge that are the least common among the sex, were in her accompanied with sweetness and modesty, an inexpressible delicacy and simplicity of manners: to say all in a word, *she was worthy of the Viscount de Turenne.*

\* As the last campaign had been long and fatiguing, there was no possibility of opening this before the month of June. The French army however took the field before that of the enemy, and laid siege to Rhetel. This was a place of great importance, because it not only facilitated the incursions of the Spaniards into Champagne, Picardy,

\* All the particulars in this book are taken from the Memoirs of the Duke of York and the Viscount,

An. 1653. and even as far as the gates of Paris, but also opened to the Prince of Condé a communication with the towns he possessed upon the Meuse, and with the Low Countries, from whence he drew his provisions. The Marquis de Perfan, whom the Prince had made Governor of it, was a very experienced Officer, but the garrison was too weak. Turenne overjoy'd at an opportunity of signalizing his zeal for the King's service, in a place that had been the theatre of his revolt, marched towards Rhetel before the Prince could throw the least succour into it. The enemy had two separate bodies of troops, one of them was in the Duchy of Luxembourg, and this was to go and join the other on the Sambre. The King's army with all expedition passed the river Aisne, and advanced three leagues beyond Rhetel, to the very spot that had been pitched upon for the junction of those two *corps*. Turenne judged that by seizing this post he should throw the Spaniards into a perplexity, and gain at least eight or nine days, which the Spaniards would lose in considering which of the two bodies should move to join the other, and in executing their determination. Then the Viscount having desired Marshal de la Ferté, who was at Sainte Menehoult, to march at the same time with him, returned with a part of his troops by the way of Chateau-Porcien, made himself Master of Chaumont as he passed, and arrived before Rhetel, which he invested jointly with la Ferté. It was a decisive stroke ; for if the Prince of Condé could have preserved this place, together with Stenai and Mouson that were also in his possession, it would have been impossible to cover Picardie, Champagne, or even the Isle of France. The two Generals vigorously attacked the out-works, which were the principal defence of the place, carried them at once, instantly raised two batteries near the walls, which were not strong, made



made two breaches in them, and forced the town, *An. 1653.* in which were nine hundred men, to surrender in  three days.

The Prince of Condé's measures being quite broke by the loss of Rhetel, he prevailed with the Spaniards to make an irruption into France with 30,000 men. The King's troops, commanded by Turenne and la Ferté, did not amount to above 7000 foot and 5000 horse; and most of the towns had either no garrisons, or very weak ones. The Spaniards having assembled their forces near la Capelle, entered Picardie; they advanced through the country that lies between the Somme and the Oise, took the road to Fonsomme, and there staid some days. In the mean while the King's army, which had at first marched by Tierache to Vervins, went and encamped at Ribemont on this side the Oise, where the King and the Cardinal arriving, a council was held upon the best means to oppose the enemy's progress. \* Several of the officers were for putting all the infantry into the frontier towns, and keeping close at the heels of the Spaniards with the cavalry, in order to cut off their provisions, harass them in their march, and hinder them from undertaking any siege. Others were against dividing the army, but thought it would be most adviseable to post it at Compiègne, thereby to hinder the enemy from passing the Oise, and approaching the capital of the Kingdom. The Viscount, who did not approve of either of these opinions, represented to the Council, that the army would be too much weakened by being divided, and that as for guarding the passes of rivers, the attempt would only expose the troops to be forced by an enemy superior in number, that he thought it much safer to keep all

\* The Duke of York says it was in the camp at Ribemont that this council was held; the Viscount does not mention the place, but only the resolution that was taken.

An. 1653. the army together, draw near the Spaniards, follow them in all their motions, and encamp so as never to be constrained to fight; that this would hinder them from daring either to separate their troops and undertake sieges, or to penetrate far into the Kingdom, because they would be continually in fear of having their convoys intercepted. The Viscount's advice was followed, the army passed the Oise, and the Court retired to Compiègne.

The marches  
and counter-  
marches of  
the two ar-  
mies.

Aug. 1.

The Spaniards having broke up their camp, marched in sight of the French by Ham, and thence to Roie, which having only the burghers to defend it, was taken in two days. Turenne, on his side, hastened to get to the village of Magni, called at present Guiscard, which is in a close covered country, where he had nothing to fear. From thence he detached Count Schomberg with 250 horse, some gendarmes and 100 foot, to throw themselves into Corbie; and at the same time sent 300 men into Peronne. The Spaniards after the taking of Roie were in a great perplexity; they were loth to advance in a country where they had no strong places, and they feared to undertake any siege, while an enemy kept so near as to be always in a condition to interrupt them. The Prince of Conde, nevertheless, marched towards Corbie; and the Viscount being near Ham understood by a letter that was intercepted, that the Count de Mègue was the next day to leave Cambrai with 3000 horse, in order to convoy some provisions and ammunition to the Spaniards posted near Corbie, on this side the Somme. The King's army decamped a little before sun-set, passed the Somme at Ham, and marched all night with an intention to attack the convoy. The cavalry went before, and arrived by day-break near Peronne. Turenne drew thence the 300 foot he had thrown into it, and 300 more which

Aug. 11.

which the garrison could spare, and marched with 5000 horse towards Bapaume. He halted two leagues from the town; and then learning that the convoy had returned to Cambrai, he retired with his cavalry to Manancourt, whither the infantry were advanced. The Spaniards disappointed of their convoy, repassed the Somme; the Generals of the King's army having received advice that Condé was throwing bridges over it at Cerisy, left Manancourt, and to observe him the more narrowly came to Alefne, a village near Peronne, being resolved nevertheless, in case he should come to attack them, to return to Manancourt, where they had taken notice of a very advantageous post: but while Turenne was sending to reconnoitre the enemy's motions, their army, which had intercepted the French parties, was coming upon the flank of the wing commanded by Marshal de la Ferté, which instead of returning to Manancourt, had extended itself on the side of Peronne at the foot of Mount St. Quentin: Turenne arriving represented to him the danger of his situation, and having exhorted him to follow him, ordered the right wing (which he himself commanded) to mount to the top of a hill, and from thence he passed to another post which seemed still better, whither all the army repaired.

Through a little valley near the village of Buire, runs a rivulet from east to west, and falls into the Somme at Peronne: along this brook was a hollow-way, not to be passed by the enemy's cavalry without difficulty. At some distance from the brook is a steep hill: at the entrance of the valley, which takes up the space between the rivulet and the hill, the Viscount planted artillery, and raised five redoubts, each of which contained a hundred men. In this narrow place, thus fortified, the troops were drawn up in four or five lines, sustained by

An. 1653.

The Viscount encamps near Peronne.

An. 1653. by others that were defended by the steep side of the hill. The Spaniards having been obliged to fetch a great compass, could not come in presence of the French army before it was in a condition to receive them. The Prince of Condé, nevertheless, was for attacking the instant he arrived, and he was hardly persuaded to yield to the reasons offered by Fuenfaldagne, who remonstrated to him, that their infantry after a quick march, in excessive hot weather, had need of some rest, and that the remainder of the day might be usefully employed in taking a more exact view of an army which would be as little able to escape them the next day as then. The Spaniards passed the night under arms; but at sunrise their Generals found the French so advantageously posted, that they durst not hazard a battle. The two armies continued three or four days in presence of each other, and there were skirmishes almost without interruption.

The Spaniards leave Picardie.

The sixteenth of August the French by day-break heard the *general* beat in the enemy's camp; they immediately drew up in battalia, and Turenne went himself with two squadrons to observe the motions of the Spaniards: He detached one of them commanded by the Duke of York, which approached near enough to their rear guard to discover that they were taking the road to St. Quentin. The Viscount thinking they had some design upon Guise, immediately sent Beaujeu, one of his Lieutenant-Generals, with twelve hundred horse and six hundred foot to throw themselves into the place. Beaujeu made such expedition, that he entered the town the moment the Spanish cavalry appeared before it to invest it. Condé finding himself prevented would attempt nothing; but when he had staid some days in the neighbourhood of Guise, returned by the way he came, and encamped at Caulaincourt near St. Quentin. The King's troops re-  
passed



passed the Somme at Peronne, and marching along that river, kept it between them and the enemy: They afterwards went and encamped at Golancourt, a league from Ham, where they staid fifteen days entire. The Spaniards made frequent incursions to surprize the French, carry off their forragers, and oblige them to decamp, but all in vain. The Prince of Condé therefore having consulted with the Archduke Leopold, who was come to the army, they resolved to leave Picardy.

On this occasion the Viscount de Turenne having an army much superior in number to contend with, like Fabius Maximus always encamped upon eminences or places difficult of access. Whenever the enemy halted he stopt likewise, and when the enemy marched he followed them, keeping along the side of them at a considerable distance, and posting himself so as that he could not be forced to fight against his will. Condé like another Hannibal tried every stratagem to force Turenne to an engagement; sometimes he drew near the French and beat up their quarters, at other times he removed to a great distance, that he might induce them to decamp, and surprize them in some march where he might have an advantage over them. This trial of skill lasted six weeks.

Comparison  
of Turenne  
and Fabius.

Whilst the Viscount de Turenne was thus keeping the Prince of Condé in awe in Picardy, the Bourdelois, straitened on all sides by the Dukes of Vendôme and Candale, who had been sent into Guienne, ask'd pardon of the Court and obtain'd it. The Princess of Condé, the Duke d'Enguien, and the Count de Marfin went from Bourdeaux to Lesparre where they were to embark for Flanders: But the Prince of Conti and the Duchess of Longueville having accepted the amnesty, the Prince retired to Pezenas in Languedoc, and the Duchess to Montreüil-Bellay, a house of her husband's.

Soon

An. 1653.

Soon after the reduction of Bourdeaux, Cardinal Mazarin made proposals to the Prince of Condé, and offered him, besides several other advantages, the Sovereignty of three cities, Stenai, Clermont and Jamets, \* The Prince answered, that he was content with the Honour of being a Prince of the Blood Royal, and did not aspire to that of being a Sovereign; that moreover he could not in any instance trust the Cardinal, because the performance of his promises depended wholly on its squaring with his Politicks. All thoughts of an accommodation being thus at an end, and the Prince seeing that he could not enter France by the way of Picardy, made long marches towards Champagne to besiege Rocroi, the last town of that Province on the side of Flanders. The Duke of Lorraine came to the siege in the beginning of it, but retired soon after with his troops, under pretence that the air of the camp was mortal to them; and by this odd step he made the Spaniards begin to distrust him. As Rocroi is situated in a plain quite encompassed with wood, as it is hard to be relieved when once invested, as the garrison of it was weak, and as a large detachment of Spanish horse was already drawn near it, Turenne let the enemy go on with this siege, and went and attacked Mouson, a town of greater importance to the French than Rocroi was to the Spaniards.

Situation of  
Mouson and  
its fortifica-  
tions.

† Mouson stands upon the Meuse between Stenai and Sedan: its walls flanked with round towers were encompassed with a dry ditch well palisaded in the middle: the side the farthest from the river and commanded by a hill, was fortified with an *envelope* of three or four bastions: at the head of the bridge on the other side the river was a horn-work; and in other parts the place was de-

\* Priorato Vol. II. Book III.

† See the particulars of this siege in the Duke of York's memoirs.

fended

fended by several half-moons. Wolf, an old Ger-<sup>An. 1653.</sup>man Colonel of great experience, commanded the garrison, which consisted of 1500 foot and 300 horse of the troops of Condé.

The King's army passed the Oise at La Fere, <sup>The Vis-</sup>and arrived the ninth of September at Remilli, <sup>count be-</sup>league from Mouson. <sup>sieges Mou-</sup>The next day it passed the Meuse below the town, and the quarters were distributed. The Viscount's cavalry extended themselves in one line from the river to the top of the hill, out of reach of the canon of the place. He incamped with his infantry and gendarmes in a little valley less distant; posted the regiments of York and Guienne in a bottom, more confined and nearer the town, and opened the trenches the same night. Marshal de la Ferté began his approaches at the same time: but his troops were posted farther from the town than those of the Viscount. \* Not to lose time, they made no line of circumvallation. The little river of Chier cover'd the French army on the side of Luxembourg, and hindered the Spaniards from throwing succours into the place. The six first nights they carried the approaches very forward, on the side of the *envelope*, and the bastions were quickly abandoned by the besieged. They retired also out of the horn-work, as soon as it was attacked on this side the bridge, but the body of the place made a stout defence. The descent into the ditch, and the making lodgments there, were very difficult, on account of the fireworks, bombs, and grenadoes, which the enemy showered upon the besiegers. At length the miners being set to the wall, and some of the mines sprung, the Governor capitulated the 28th of September, and with his garrison, arms, and baggage, was escorted to Montmedi.

\* See the particulars of this siege in the Duke of York's memoirs.

An. 1653. The siege lasted seventeen days, during which time the continual rains and violent storms of wind frequently overthrew the *blinds*, made the earth fall in, and drowned the trenches: yet Turenne, with indefatigable diligence, directed the works himself, in spite of all obstacles. He marked the place where the trenches should be opened, and he went regularly to visit them three times in the four and twenty hours; in the morning to see whether his orders given the night before had been executed; in the evening to direct what should be done in the night, and a third time pretty late in the night, continuing with the men more or less, as his presence was necessary. He conducted himself pretty much in the same manner at all sieges, and made his Officers engineers, by his instructions and example. The same day that Mouson was taken, the army marched to relieve Rocroi; but when it had got half way thither, received advice that the town was surrendered. The remainder of the campaign was spent in the siege of Sainte Menehoult; some troops from Guienne with the French guards and the Swiss ere sent thither, while Marshal de la Ferté kept near the Meuse, to hinder succours, and the Viscount covered Picardy, observing the motions of the enemy, who did nothing but march and counter-march. The place being taken in the beginning of December, the armies separated, and Turenne returned to Court, where the value of the services he had lately done the State being well known, he was gratified with the Government of Limousin.

The Prince  
of Condé's  
treaty with  
the Spaniards.

Condé, whose great projects had failed, through the opposition of an army much weaker than his own, went to Brussels to conclude a treaty with Spain; the principal article of which was, that all the towns that should be taken in France, should belong to him. When he made his entrance, he was received with the same honours that had been paid to the



Archduke, the Emperor's son. Notwithstanding An. 1653. the Austrian pride, and the Majesty of the Empire, Condé, supported only by his courage and reputation, maintained with so much dignity the prerogatives of the Bourbon Blood, that he treated with the Archduke, the Emperor's brother, as his equal, and preserved the rank of the House of France even in Brussels itself.

While the Prince of Condé was thus putting himself into the hands of the Spaniards, his brother the Prince of Conti was contriving how to return to Court: Weary of living at Pezenas, he sounded the dispositions of the Minister, and signified to him an inclination to make an alliance with his Eminence. Mazarin with joy received a proposal that did him so much honour, and the Prince returning speedily to Paris, married Anne-Marie Martinozzi, daughter of Jérôme Martinozzi a Roman Gentleman, and of Marguerite Mazarin the Cardinal's sister.

It was at this very time, that Charles Duke of Lorraine, being dissatisfied with the treaty concluded between the Spaniards and Condé, demanded that the Prince would either yield him some of the places he possessed in Lorraine, or share with him the conquests that should be made in France. Having offered this alternative, he threatened to leave the Spaniards, if they did not grant him one or other of these two demands. His threats increased the distrusts of the Court of Brussels to such a degree, that they caused him to be seized in the Archduke's Palace, and convey'd the next day to the Castle of Antwerp. The Duke quite furious with anger, sent to the Count de Ligneville, who commanded his army, a note concealed in a loaf of bread, which concluded with these words,  
*Quit the Spaniards with all speed; put all to the*  
S 2 sword,

An. 1653. *sword, burn every thing in your way, and remember Charles of Lorrain\*.*

The Count de Ligneville nevertheless did not stir. Fuenfaldagne went to the Lorrainers quarters, three leagues from Brussels, spoke to the Officers, distributed money among the soldiers, who were beginning to murmur, calmed both the one and the other by his discourse and his liberality, and retained them in the service of the King of Spain, promising them that Duke Francis of Lorrain, Charles's brother, should come, without delay, and put himself at their head. And indeed this Prince, not much concerned for his brother's misfortune, with whom he had quarrelled, did soon after come from Germany, and take upon him the command of those troops. As for Charles, he was transported into Spain, and there detained prisoner till the peace of the Pyrenees.

An. 1654.  
The French  
besiege St.  
nai, and the  
SJ. 1654. US  
Arras.

The King's coronation, which was in spring 1654, retarded the opening of the campaign. As soon as that ceremony was over, Faber had orders to besiege Stenai, and Turenne was to hinder the enemy from relieving it. The Prince of Condé, stung to the quick at their sitting down before a town that belonged to him, and having no hopes of being able to save it, prevailed with the Archduke to invest Arras with an army of 32000 men: what encouraged him to it was the weakness of the garrison. Mondejeu, afterwards Marshal de Schu- lemburg †, Governor of Arras, had sent almost all his horse into a flying camp, commanded by De Bar, who was to cover the neighbouring places and throw himself into the first that should be threatened. It was not possible for De Bar to get

\* V. Priorato B. IV.

† He had been page to Frederic Maurice, Duke of Bouillon, the Viscount's brother; and had learnt his trade under those two great masters.

back again into Arras, so that Mondejeu had with him but 2500 foot, and a hundred horse. Cardinal Mazarin alarm'd at the enterprize of the Spaniards had recourse to the Viscount, offering him to consent to raise the siege of Stenai, in case he thought the troops there employ'd were necessary for the relief of Arras. Turenne did not think it advisable to quit the design upon Stenai, and therefore marched towards Arras with the Marshal de la Ferté, at the head of about 14000 men only.

The Generals sent three detachments of cavalry before them, to throw themselves into the place. St. Lieu commanded 400 horse; \* Baron d'Esquencourt a like number, and le Chevalier, afterwards Marshal de Crequi 500. They had orders to march by different roads, and at a day's march distance one from another. In attempting to pass by the enemy's camp, the half of their squadrons were either taken or forced to return: but they themselves got into the place with the other half, before the Spaniards had finished their intrenchments. All the Works of the besiegers were in a condition of defence by the 14th of July, tho' the Workmen had been sometimes molested by the besieged, who made two or three sallies with good success.

The King's army commanded by Turenne and la Ferté being too weak to venture an engagement in the open field with troops so numerous as those of the enemy, waited near Peronne, till the Spaniards had almost finished their lines. Besides, the Viscount thought it not adviseable to draw near them, till he had provided for the subsistence of his troops, so that he might not be obliged for the want of provisions, either to fight or to retire; two things which he judged equally disadvantageous. From Peronne the army marched seven leagues, and encamped the first day at Sains, between Cambray and Arras:

\* Daniel de Montmorenci Baron d'Esquencourt,

An. 1654.

The Viscount throws succours into Arras.

The Marshals Turenne and la Ferté march towards Arras, and encamp at Mouchi le Preux.

An. 1654. the next day it arrived at Mouchi le Preux, a village which stands a league and a half from Arras, upon an eminence that overlooks a valley which the Scarp waters on one side, and the Cogeul on the other. The Viscount went himself with some horse and dragoons to view the ground for a camp, and to see whether the enemy gave any token of a design to attack him. The troops worked all night at the intrenchment, and found themselves well covered the very next day, and in a very advantageous post, the front of which was proportion'd to their number. The river of Cogeul covered their left, and the Scarp at somewhat a greater distance ran at their right. Turenne took up his quarters at Mouchi, where was the greatest part of his infantry, the rest with the cavalry were extended in two lines to the Cogeul. La Ferté had taken up his to the right of the village of Peule, where one part of his infantry encamped, the other was at Mouchi, and his horse extended themselves in two lines from the one village to the other. The *Corps de reserve* was posted behind the Viscount's quarter, who by this disposition was in the center. The artillery was planted on the hill of Mouchi, and the enemy could not approach, without being exposed to the fire of it.

The Viscount cuts off the communication between the Spanish camp, and towns about it.

The Viscount's design was not immediately to attack the enemy in their lines. As he intended to wait the taking of Stenai, that he might reinforce his army with the troops employ'd in that siege, he applied himself for the present, only to cut off all communication between the Spanish camp and the neighbouring towns. The French army was so posted, as to hinder any provisions going to the Spaniards from Douai, Bouchain, or Valenciennes. The Marquis d'Espence Beauveau was sent to the left to prevent any thing coming from Cambrai; orders were sent to the Count de Broglio, Governor of la Bassée,



Bassee, to post himself on the right at Lens with <sup>An. 1654.</sup> 1500 or 2000 men drawn from the garrisons thereabouts, in order to cut off the communication with Lille. \* The Count de l'Isle-bonne went with 1200 horse to Perne, to block up the way from Air and St. Omer. The Spanish army thus strained on all sides, could receive but small convoys, and the troopers were obliged to carry what ammunition and provisions they got behind them. It is probable that the Spaniards would have been obliged to raise the siege, if the French could have possess'd themselves of St. Pol, the only passage remaining open. But the Governor of Hedin, who had been ordered upon that enterprize, excused himself, by alledging the weakness of his garrison; and through certain unforeseen accidents, some attempts that were made soon after, proved unsuccessful.

The trenches were opened the 14th, and the besieged disputed every inch of ground with incredible courage. At a month's end the Spaniards, with the loss of near 2000 men, had only taken a horn-work, which it was necessary to be masters of before they could get to the counterscarp of the half-moon, which was before the ditch. During all this time Mondejeu was continually sending messengers to acquaint the Generals with the condition of the place.

Turenne and la Ferté observing the siege of Stenai to go on but slowly, and that of Arras to advance, notwithstanding the stout resistance of the besieged, resolved at length to attack the enemy's lines: but just then receiving intelligence that Stenai was capitulating, and that the troops which had besieged it were marching to join them, they

\* Francois de Lorrain, Comte de l'Isle-bonne, son of Charles de Lorrain, the second of the Name, Duke d'Elbeuf, and of Catharine Henriette legitimated daughter of Henry IV.

An. 1654. judged it proper to wait their coming. Two days before the arrival of this reinforcement, Turenne, accompanied by the Duke of York, the Duke of Joyeuse \*, and several young Noblemen, officers or volunteers, went with a squadron of guards to reconnoitre the Spanish lines on the side of the Prince of Condé's quarters; the Prince from an eminence, where he then was, detached the Duke of Wirtemberg with the regiment of Estrées to surround them, so that they were obliged to retire, and the Duke of Joyeuse received a carabine shot in his arm, of which he died some little time after, at Paris: Turenne returned to his camp, having discovered that the lines were too strong and too well guarded on the side of the Prince of Condé, to hazard the intended general attack on that quarter.

The Mar-  
shals Turenne  
and d'Hoc-  
quincourt  
join and seize  
St. Pol and  
mount  
St. Eloi.

Marshal d'Hocquincourt, who after the surrender of Stenai had taken upon him the command of the troops, marched with expedition, passed the Somme, and arrived near Bapaume; advancing thence with his cavalry, he was join'd by Turenne, who came to meet him with fifteen squadrons. Receiving advice in that instant, that a large convoy was coming to the enemy by the way of St. Pol, they marched strait to intercept it; but the Marquis de Boutteville, afterwards Marshal de Luxembourg, who commanded the escort of the convoy, getting notice of their design, carried it into Aire. The two Generals finding themselves near St. Pol, thought it highly expedient to seize that important post; the garrison made but a poor defence, and surrendered prisoners of war. The next day, as they returned towards the army, they attacked the Abbey of Mount St. Eloi, a short league from the enemy's camp, and obliged 500 men there posted to surrender at

\* Louis de Lorraine, Duke of Joyeuse, high Chamberlain of France, and Colonel General of the cavalry, son of Charles de Lorraine Duke of Guise, and heir of Joyeuse.

discretion. They afterwards separated; la Ferté An. 1654. went and pitched in a place call'd Cæsar's Camp, and the Viscount in his return to Mouchi le Preux, took a view of the enemy's lines on the north side; he marched strait towards them from Mount St. Eloi, approached them within half a canon shot, and skirted along them at the same distance for two whole hours,

The Spaniards, whose lines of circumvallation were twelve foot broad and ten deep, with an advance-ditch, nine foot in breadth, and six in depth, had built redoubts and little forts at certain distances, planted artillery in all parts, and raised *Epaulments* to cover themselves from the canon. In the space between the circumvallation and its advance-ditch, they had dug twelve rows of holes or little wells four foot deep, and a foot and a half over, disposed chequer-wise, and in the intervals they had fixed pallisades a foot and a half high to stop and hamper the horses. In short, they had fortified their camp with all kinds of works, even such as were least in use. In these lines of a wide circumference, the Spanish quarter commanded by the Count de Fuenfaldagne was to the north, on the side of the road to Lens: The Prince of Condé at the head of the French, and the Duke of Wirtemberg with his troops, were posted to the south: the quarter where the Archduke was lodged with the German and Flemish forces reached on the east, from Courtrai-road to the Scarp: Dom Fernand de Solis with the Italians, and Prince Francois de Lorraine with his troops extended themselves on the west from Perne to the south.

While the Viscount was skirting along pretty near the quarter of Dom Fernand de Solis, the canon of the Spaniards killed several of his soldiers. Some of the officers apprehending a yet greater mischief, could not forbear murmuring, and even representing

Description  
of the Spa-  
nish lines.

The Vis-  
count takes  
a view of the  
lines.

An. 1654. ing to the Viscount, that by going so near, he exposed the whole body of the troops that were with him to an unavoidable defeat, in case the enemy should fall out of their lines and attack it. The Viscount confessed, that he would not have ventured to do on the Prince of Condé's side, what he did on the side of the Spaniards quarters, but that he was so well acquainted with their excessive caution, as to be very sure that Dom Fernand would not undertake any thing, till he had first sent for orders to the Count de Fuenfaldagne the Spanish Generalissimo; that the Count would go himself to speak of the matter to the Archduke; that the Archduke would not fail to invite the Prince of Condé to a Council, and that while all these were consulting one another, he should have time enough to reconnoitre the lines, and to retire \*. Every thing happened just as he had foreseen, and the Spaniards came to no conclusion to attack till it was too late.

La Ferté is  
against at-  
tacking the  
lines.

The Governor of Arras, soon after, sent word to the French Generals, that he had but a small quantity of powder left, and that if he were not speedily relieved, he should be forced to capitulate. At the same time the Marquis de Boutteville leaving Aire with the convoy, marched by the Douay-road and entered the lines at the head of his cavalry, through the fault of an officer who neglected to give notice of it. This news ought to have hastened the attack of the lines: it is nevertheless probable, that had it not been for the Viscount's resolution, it would never have been done. The Duke of York and the Count de Broglio join'd with him in opinion; but the greatest part of the other Generals, from motives of private interest, represented this enterprize as very rash. Marshal d'Hocquincourt and his officers proposed the making only a slight attempt, just sufficient to save the honour of the French army. La Ferté sent a trum-

\* These particulars are copied from the Duke of York's Memoirs.



pet, who rushing boldly into Turenne's tent, while he was at table with several officers, had the assurance in his presence to make such a description of the lines as was enough to intimidate those that heard him. But these things served only to confirm the Viscount in his determination: he represented to the Generals, that such a trial as was proposed, instead of saving their reputation, would have a quite contrary effect; that they would be justly censured for having sacrificed the soldiers to no purpose; that by going heartily to work with several battalions in a front they would certainly find some part weaker than the rest, by which those who should be repulsed elsewhere might enter; that in case the attack was made in the night, the troops in no one of the enemy's quarters would dare to quit their post, in order to succour those in another, before daylight, because they would be in pain for themselves; or if they did give any assistance, it would be only to those the nearest to them. He took every occasion to discourse with the officers of the manner in which the attack should be made, of the difficulties they would have to struggle with, and the expedients necessary to surmount them. He recommended to them above all things to keep the soldiers together and in good order, when they should have got within the lines, for fear of their straying in the dark; to observe an exact discipline as they advanced, not suffering the men to leave their ranks for the sake of plundering; and lastly, not to go strait to the town, but to march along the line, and drive their enemies quite out of it before they succoured their friends †.

The Court which was then at Peronne, sent an order for attacking; the day fixed was the 24th of August, the eve of St. Louis. It was resolved to make the chief push at Dom Fernand de Solis's quarter,

The Court sends an order to attack the lines, and the army marches thither.

† Duke of York's Memoirs.

and

An. 1654. and that part of Fuenfaldagne's which was nearest to it, these places being the weakest, and the farthest from the Prince of Condé; and to have at the same time three false attacks, one on the side of Condé, a second on the further part of Fuenfaldagne's quarter, and the third at that of Duke Francis of Lorraine. The soldiers provided themselves with fascines, hurdles, and all the tools necessary for such an enterprize; publick prayers were offered at the head of each battalion and each squadron; at sun-set the armies began to cross the Scarp over four bridges; no troops were left to guard the baggage, because it was to follow, immediately after sunrise; the pioneers advanced at the head of each battalion; each trooper carried before him two fascines, and the musketeers carefully concealed their lighted matches. The march was made in silence, and with so much order and exactness, that they arrived precisely at the place and time appointed for joining the troops of Hocquincourt, but the latter were not yet come. The moon which had shined till then, went down; the weather grew cloudy, and a wind rising and blowing from the enemies camp hindered them from hearing any noise. Turenne and la Ferté, without waiting for Hocquincourt, made their troops turn to the left, and march with a wide front strait to the lines, from which they were about half a league distant.

Disposition  
of the at-  
tacks.

Turenne divided the eight Lieutenant Generals who commanded under him, equally between the horse and foot; the Count de Broglio headed the regiments of Picardy and Swiss guards on the right; Du Passage the battalions of La Feuillade in the center, and the Count de Castelnau those of Du Plessis and Turenne on the left. The cavalry which was to sustain them amounted to four and twenty squadrons. De Bar was in the right wing, the Duke of York in the left, and Eclinvilliers in the center.

Roncherolles

Roncherolles commanded a body of reserve of three <sup>An. 1654.</sup> battalions of foot, and the Count de l'Islebonne another of horse. La Ferté who was posted on the left of Turenne over against the confines of the quarters of Dom Fernand and Fuensaldagne, had a line consisting of six battalions, two lines of horse behind it, and several squadrons of reserve. The right was left for Marshal d'Hocquincourt, who was to have a front of four battalions supported by a line of horse, and then a second line of foot and some squadrons.

Two hundred paces from the lines, the wind <sup>The attack of the lines</sup> quickening the fire of the matches, and the glow being the brighter for the darkness of the night, they were all on a sudden discovered, and made a kind of illumination, which gave the enemy the first alarm; instantly they fired three canon, and lighted up their lanthorns all along the circumvallation. In the mean time the infantry of Turenne's first line passed the advance-ditch, covered the little wells, tore down the pallisades, and finding less resistance than they had at first apprehended, went on to the second ditch: some of them passed it even before it was filled up, and Fisica, a Captain in Turenne's regiment, planted the colours of his company on the parapet, crying out *vive Turenne* \*. This was no more than was necessary to encourage the rest of the battalions, who being still full of diffidence, durst not approach: but then all taking courage equally, the five battalions broke through the several places, and made a way for the cavalry. La Ferte's attack had not been so fortunate; the greatest part of his soldiers could not push to the second ditch, they were vigorously repulsed by the Spaniards, nor were they able afterwards to enter the lines but by the help of Turenne's troops. D'Hocquincourt not arriving till towards morning, found the enemy in a

\* MSS. of the Abbé Raguenet.

An. 1654. consternation, and therefore easily made his way through Dom Fernand's quarter into that of Duke Francis of Lorrain. The Italians and Lorrainers being forced in all posts, forsook their intrenchments, carrying disorder and terror into the other quarters. The day was beginning to break, when Condé alone, having cross'd through the Archduke's quarter and advised him to think of a retreat, marched with what cavalry he could get together to stop the fury of the French. He fell first upon those who were busied in plundering, then beat la Ferté, who inconsiderately came down from an eminence; but he durst not push him, because he perceived a body of troops that had taken possession of the post which the Marshal had quitted, and he retired to a neighbouring hill, with an intention as soon as his infantry should join him, to go and attack those troops he saw upon the eminence. Turenne (for it was he) had there assembled all the troops he could, and caused some canon to be brought thither; the fire of this artillery stopt the battalions which Condé would have march'd against him, and so discouraged them, that in spite of all the Prince could do, he was obliged to desist; and the more, that, at the same time, Castelnau, who had entered Arras, sallied out from thence with Mondejeu and all the cavalry of the place\*.

Condé quits  
the lines.

Condé and Turenne, without being told it, guess'd each of them where the other was. By the prudent conduct shown in not pushing la Ferté too far, the Viscount judg'd that Condé commanded the troops which had beaten him; and the Prince did not doubt but it was Turenne who had posted himself upon the eminence before mentioned, and durst not attack him. The Viscount satisfy'd with having forced the Prince to quit his post, did not think proper to pursue him. The Marquis de Bellefond having less

\* The Life of Condé.

discretion,



discretion, attacked the Prince's rear-guard in its passage over the Scarp, but was so warmly receiv'd, as to be forced to retire with loss. Condé cross'd the river, quitted his intrenchments, rallied his scattered troops, and marched them in good order to Cambrai. The other Generals of the enemy followed his example as well as they could. The Archduke and the Count de Fuenfaldagne made their escape with only one squadron or two, by the road to Douai, through the baggage of the French army. Leopold was known, and would have been taken prisoner, had any troops been left in the camp of Mouchi le Preux.

Marshal d'Hocquincourt, who had entered the lines with his horse, had found no obstacle in his way, till he came to the brook that divided the Lorrainers quarter from that of Condé: but he had there met with the Count de Marsin at the head of several squadrons, who defended the passage so well, that the greater part of the infantry of that quarter had time to escape. Marsin retired in good order, quitted the lines, and joined the Prince of Condé at the time that he was rallying the troops.

*Marsin does the same.*

Those who commanded the two false attacks made by the troops of la Ferté and Hocquincourt followed their orders exactly, and succeeded in what they undertook; and the soldiers enriched themselves with the booty they found in the quarters of the Spaniards and Lorrainers. Traci, who commanded the third false attack that was to be made by the troops of Turenne, was not so fortunate; he had marched towards the quarters of the Prince of Condé, which were directly opposite to those of Dom Fernand, and staid in a bottom pursuant to his orders, waiting till the general attack should begin; but the distance and the wind having hindered him from hearing the noise of what pass'd in the camp, he learnt nothing of it till day-break, when he saw the enemy retiring.

*What passed at the false attacks.*

The

An. 1654.

The loss  
sustained by  
the Spani-  
ar's.

The loss was very inconsiderable in the King's army; Turenne had a contusion by a musket ball; the Count de Broglio's thigh was broke by another; very few of the subalterns were kill'd, and not above three or four hundred of the soldiers. The enemy lost near 3000 men kill'd or taken prisoners; 63 pieces of canon, 2000 waggons, 9000 horses, all the equipage of the officers, and the baggage of the whole army.

The Vis-  
count's mo-  
deration.

It was during this siege that la Ferté having found a soldier of the Viscount's guards without the camp, asked him how he durst go out of the lines; and without waiting for an answer went up to him, and beat him severely. The Viscount, when the soldier came and presented himself all bloody, said to him, *You must certainly have been extremely in fault, since you could provoke the Marshal to treat you in this manner*; and instantly ordered the Lieutenant of his guards to take him back to the Marshal with this compliment, "that he was very much concern'd that  
" the man should have fail'd in his respect to him,  
" and that he delivered him up into his hands to  
" punish him as he thought proper." The whole army was astonished; and the Marshal being himself surpriz'd cried out: *What, is this man to be always wise, and I always a fool?*


Turenne re-  
mains sole  
Commander  
in chief of  
the army.

The news of the siege being rais'd, was spread far and wide, and excited the admiration of all who heard of it. Several of the Princes of Germany, and the most eminent Generals in Europe, wrote to the Viscount to congratulate him, particularly the Landgrave of Hesse\*. The Duke of York, after the action, was sent with 2000 horse to Peronne, where the Court then resided, to escort it to Arras: it stay'd there some days, the army incamping in the enemy's lines, where they found abundance of forage. The last day of August the French marched towards

\* See the authorities, No. VIII.

Cambrai : the Court returning to Peronne. La Fer-  
 té and d'Hocquincourt followed the King, so that  
 the Viscount remained alone at the head of the  
 army.

The sixth of September the Viscount marched  
 towards Quênoi, and made himself master of it the  
 next day, the garrison being weak, and the Spa-  
 niards having demolished the out-works. He gave  
 orders for rebuilding the old fortifications, and mak-  
 ing new ones, and then laid siege to Binches, and  
 carried it : he staid there till the 22d, and then re-  
 turned to Quênoi, to store the magazines. In these  
 marches and counter-marches he gave the Lieu-  
 tenant Generals more employment than usual, in  
 order to prevent any surprize from the Spaniards,  
 who had reassembled the remains of their army un-  
 der the canon of Mons, to cover Bruffels. There  
 were three Lieutenant Generals upon duty ; one  
 marched with the cavalry of the van, another with  
 the infantry, and the third headed the cavalry of  
 the rear : he ordered them, when they came to any  
 brook to make the cavalry pass at the right and left,  
 with the infantry in the middle ; the baggage set out  
 at day-break, escorted by six or eight squadrons ;  
 the vanguard followed with the heavy canon, and  
 the rest of the artillery was in the rear-guard. The  
 army marched in such a manner, that it could at  
 any time draw up in battalia without confusion.  
 When it came to any defile the rear-guard faced  
 about with the field-pieces, while the van went for-  
 ward ; when the van was pass'd, this also faced  
 about, leaving a sufficient space for the troops that  
 were following to range themselves in battle : this  
 order was observed, till the whole army had passed  
 the defile ; then it moved all together, and conti-  
 nued its march. The Viscount took all these pre-  
 cautions, because he apprehended he should be at-  
 tacked : and in reality the Prince of Condé did draw

An. 1654.  


The Vis-  
 count takes  
 Quênoi and  
 Binches.

T

near

An. 1654. near him at the head of forty squadrons, and followed him a long time within reach of canon-shot, to a pass near Maubeuge: but seeing the quickness with which the French troops faced about, and the good order they observed, he returned the way he came without harassing them. Turenne staid at Quênoi to the end of September, then marched towards Cambresis, and staid a few weeks on the frontier: after which, having taken and demolished some castles thereabouts, he sent away his troops into their quarters, and went himself to Paris, where his presence was like to be necessary.

Cardinal de Retz escapes out of prison, and goes into Italy.

The civil feuds were going to be rekindled by the intrigues of Cardinal de Retz, had not an accident put a stop to it. The Coadjutor, who had been removed from the Castle of Vincennes to that of Nantes, having found means to escape out of prison, took post in order to get speedily to Paris, shew himself to the people in the publick market, and make new barricades; but as he was galloping along the suburbs of Nantes, having cocked his pistol to fire at one of the guards that pursued him, his horse started, fell and threw him; his shoulder being put out of joint by the fall, he could not continue his journey, and hid himself in a haystack. The Gentlemen of the neighbourhood rising in his favour, he escaped to Belle-Isle, changed his dress, got into a fish-boat, landed at St. Sebastian in Spain, and from thence went to Rome, where Pope Innocent X. received him with marks of joy and distinction.

An. 1655. \* Retz's flight to such a distance, was the more lucky for the Court, as during the winter the troubles were like to have been revived on occasion of a new coinage. Louis XIV. appeared on his Throne of justice in the Parliament, and caused the edict for it to be registred; but soon after the several

The Viscount prevents new dissensions.  
20 March.

\* Mem. de Monglat for this year.

Chambers



Chambers assembled to examine this edict, and deliberate on the receiving of it, pretending that the King's presence had deprived them of the freedom of suffrage. The remembrance of the past giving cause to apprehend the ill consequences of these deliberations, the King went one morning to the \* *Palais*, attended by all the Court, and seating himself on his Throne, without any preamble forbade the Parliament to concern itself in publick affairs, and then rising hastily went out, being determined not to hear any remonstrance. Notwithstanding this prohibition, the Parliament continued to assemble, and the minds of the members grew every day more and more sower'd. The Cardinal in this exigence had recourse to the Viscount's prudence, who had acquired a high reputation in the Councils, as well as in the army. Turenne went to the *First President*, laid before him, in an affecting manner, all the horrors of civil war, and made him sensible, that as the fire of discord was not yet quite extinguished, the smallest breath was sufficient to put all again into a blaze.

In the month of June the King went to La Fere, where he waited his army's entering Hainault, to undertake some important siege. To preserve Quénoi it was necessary to have Landrecies: these two towns opened the French a way into the Spanish Low Countries. Turenne's army and that of La Ferté having joined near Guise, they marched together towards Landrecies, and invested it the eighteenth of June. Such diligence was used in working at the circumvallation, that it was finished in five days, and the camp was stored with provisions for a month. The Prince of Condé, who had the principal direction of the Flemish troops, came and posted himself at Vadencourt, near Guise, to hinder provisions going to the besiegers, and sent out parties to make depredations in Picardy:

An. 1655. but as he did not come to this post till the seventh day after the town was invested, all his endeavours proved fruitless. Turenne continued the siege; and the taking of Landrecies paved the way for all the successes that followed till the peace of the Pyrenees. \* The detachments which the Prince sent into Picardy, as far as Ribemont, alarmed the Court very much. The King had with him only two companies of the regiment of guards, and the Spaniards might easily have carried him off; but they missed this occasion for want of foresight: the young King quitted La Fere in haste, and retired to Laon. In the mean time the trenches were opened before Landrecies; there were two approaches, Turenne's and La Ferté's. They carried on the works with so much vigilance, and so little loss, that the seventeenth day the mines were sprung under two bastions of the place; that on the Viscount's side making the greatest breach. The Governor obtained an honourable capitulation, and the garrison was escorted to Valenciennes.

1 July.

The Viscount passes the Haine and the Scheld to attack the Spaniards.

The army of the besiegers continued some days at Landrecies, to level the lines, and repair the breaches, and the Spaniards retired between Mons and Valenciennes behind the Sambre and Scheld, not thinking themselves in a condition to hazard a battle. Far from being able to make a new irruption into France, they were reduced to confine their views to the watching of the Viscount's motions, and the hindring him from undertaking any other siege. The King joined the army at Guise, put himself at the head of his troops, and marched along the Sambre, down as far as Thuin, a town belonging to the bishoprick of Liege. He then crossed that river, advanced to Bavai, and intended to enter into the heart of the country by passing the Haine, which runs through the middle of Hainault, and gave it

\* Monglat, Mem. of this year, p. 84.

its name. Upon viewing the passages it was found <sup>An. 1655.</sup> that the enemy had thrown up strong intrenchments, and at certain distances raised redoubts and platforms all along the stream from St. Guislain to Condé. The difficulty of forcing these works was increased by the difficulty of approaching the river in a country full of ditches, and easily laid under water, and where there was but one causey, which led to the bridge of the Haïne. A council was held, the King present; Cardinal Mazarin, the Duke of York, the Marshals Turenne, la Ferté, Villeroi, Gramont, and Plessis-Praslin assisted at it. The minister having with eloquence set forth how glorious it would be to pass the river in presence of a formidable army, they were going to resolve upon forcing the bridge; but the Viscount opposed it, shew'd the difficulties that would attend it, and proposed a safer expedient. As he was well acquainted with the country, he represented to them, that by crossing the Scheld a little below Bouchain, leaving Valenciennes on the right, and repassing the same river at Condé, they would be able to come upon the enemy in flank, render all their intrenchments useless, and without hazarding the lives of the King's soldiers, oblige the Spaniards to quit their post. The Cardinal and all the Generals coming over to his opinion, the army marched from Bavai to Bouchain; of which when the enemy had notice, they decamped to draw near Valenciennes. The Prince of Condé at first opposed this march, but finding that he could not stop the Spanish Generals, he protested that he would not leave his post upon the Haïne, if they did not promise him to make a vigorous defence upon the Scheld. They promised, and then passing the river at Valenciennes, went and encamped near St. Amand in an advantageous post, having the town on their left, woods on their right, and before them an old line that had been

An. 1655. left on mount Azin. The King's army continued its march to Neuville, where it passed the Scheld; and leaving there some troops to secure the baggage against any incursions of the garrison of Bouchain, advanced to meet the enemy. When Turenne was got within a league of their camp, he halted to wait for the coming up of his artillery, and went in person to view their situation. Upon examining the post they were in, he judged that they would certainly defend it, and therefore ordered Castelnau to go with all diligence with his flying camp, consisting of twelve squadrons and three battalions, and place himself on the right of the enemy towards the high road to St. Amand, and endeavour to attack them in flank, while he attacked them in front. Scarce was Castelnau arrived at the place appointed, when he perceived the Spaniards retiring towards Condé: he gave notice of it to the Viscount, who instantly sent him word to fall upon their rear, that so he might have time to come up with the body of the army. The Arch-duke, and the Count de Fuenfaldagne were no sooner informed that Marshal Turenne had passed the Scheld, and was marching towards them, but they repented of the promises they had made the Prince of Condé, and left their new post, without consulting him. The Prince had the first notice of it by an Aid de Camp, who came to tell him that the Arch-duke was retiring, and begged him to cover the retreat, tho' it was the Spaniards turn that day to make the rear-guard. Thus during the whole course of this war, the dilatoriness or precipitation, the timidity or want of skill in the Spanish Generals disconcerted the Prince of Condé's measures.

Castelnau's  
mistake.

The Prince would have been reduced to great extremities, had Castelnau followed the instructions he receiv'd; but instead of attacking the enemy whom he came up with at the bridge of Beuvrage, he let himself be amused by some of the Prince of Condé's



officers ; they desired to speak with him ; he consented and halted for some time ; and while they were complimenting one another, the Prince of Condé quicken'd his march, and Castelnau was cheated by his own politeness. The enemy gain'd the Scheld, crossed it, drew up in battalia on the other side, broke down the bridges, and the same day went to Tournai.

The Viscount came up soon after, and Castelnau gave him an ingenuous relation of what had happened ; and Colonel St. Lieu assured him, that the bridges having been broken down in a little too much hurry, the hindmost squadrons of the Prince had passed the river by swimming. The French army encamped at Frane near Condé, and Turenne that very night wrote to the Cardinal, who was with the Court at Quênoi, giving an account of all that had pass'd. This letter was intercepted, and the Prince of Condé was extremely offended \* at the contents of it. The Viscount however had hardly once spoke of himself in it ; nor had he dwelt on the false steps the Spaniards had taken in coming to meet him, and then retiring contrary to all the rules of war ; nor on the confusion in which they had quitted the most advantageous post in the world, and all the rivers ; and this with an army, which had they not weakened it by conceiving a jealousy of their towns without reason, was no ways inferior to that of the King ; he had mentioned those faults as committed contrary to the Prince of Condé's advice ; and he had enlarged only on the perplexity the Spaniards had thrown the Prince into, by obliging him to cover the retreat that day ; adding, that had it not been for Castelnau's mistake, he should have fallen on the Prince's rear-guard, some squadrons of which had been obliged to swim over the Scheld.

*Personal quarrel between the Viscount and the Prince, of Condé.*

\* See the Viscount's Memoirs, p. 139 and 140.


An. 1655. The Prince nevertheless took great offence at the relation, and sent a trumpet to the Viscount with a very sharp letter; wherein, among other harsh things, were these words, *Had you been in the van of your army, whilst I was in the rear of mine, you would have seen things better, and not have given accounts so remote from the truth.* The Prince sent also to a great many officers of the King's army a kind of manifesto, in which he justified his conduct, and complain'd bitterly of the Viscount; and he signified to M. de la Ferté, that Turenne did not speak handsomely of him in his relation.

Turenne received the Prince's letter in presence of a great many of his officers, to whom he immediately showed it; not thinking himself obliged to answer it, he only told the trumpet, *That he should be punished if he brought him any more such letters.* From this time those two Generals did not treat one another with the same regard as hitherto, nor were they fully reconciled till the peace of the Pyrenees.

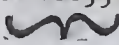
Condé and  
St. Guislain  
taken.

The next day the French wrought on some bridges above the town of Condé, with a view to besiege it. Its walls were not much better than the lines of a camp: but the strength of the garrison made amends for the weakness of the ramparts. One half of the army was employed in the siege, while Turenne and la Ferté covered it with the other half. The first night the besiegers met with so much resistance, that the two Marshals were obliged to come in person to carry on one of the approaches. But the attacks were continued with such vigour, that the town surrendered the third day after opening the trenches, and the garrison consisting of 2000 men, was escorted to the nearest town possess'd by the enemy. As the King's army was far advanced within their country, and as the Spaniards knew not what it would undertake next, they threw troops into all their towns, thereby weakened their army,

and

and durst not approach in a body. That which An. 1655.  
 commonly happens after a series of bad success,   
 happened to them; they fear'd more than they needed  
 to do, and took precautions even against impossibilities. After the taking of Condé, the King's  
 army marched strait to St. Guislain, situate in a very  
 flat country, and watered by the river Haïne. The  
 enemy flooded the country so, that there was no  
 possibility of digging to make a circumvallation:  
 the approaches were carried on by blinds made of  
 fascines: this however did not hinder the place from  
 being taken in three days, with very little loss on  
 the French side. Turenne having put more than  
 4000 men into the conquer'd towns, repaired and  
 finished the fortifications of Condé and St. Guislain,  
 stored the magazines with all sorts of provisions, consumed the forage in the country all round, he marched  
 the 12th of October to Barlaimont, the 22d to the 12 October,  
 Abbey of Marolles, and about the beginning of 22d ditto.  
 November to Ribemont. There he received orders  
 to quit the army, and repair to the Court at  
 Compiègne, on account of an important affair.

Marshal d'Hocquincourt much offended with the Marshal  
d'Hocquincourt's  
treasonable  
design  
disconcerted  
by the  
Viscount.  
 Cardinal, who had taken from him the command  
 of the army, and had scarce employ'd him at all  
 since the siege of Etampes, and being fallen in love  
 with a Lady of the first Quality, who roused his  
 resentments, let himself be drawn into the party of  
 the Spaniards, upon the offers the Prince of Condé  
 made him of the sum of 400000 crowns, and the  
 post of Lieutenant General of Flanders, if he would  
 give up Ham and Peronne, of which places he was  
 Governor. Turenne when he arrived at Compiègne,  
 consulted with the Cardinal upon the proper  
 measures to hinder the Marshal from bringing the  
 enemy into those two important places. The Cardinal  
 inclined to have the army draw near Peronne;  
 but the Viscount represented to him, that such a  
 motion

An. 1655. motion might provoke d'Hocquincourt to take some  hasty step, and advis'd to try an accommodation. The negotiation lasted fifteen days, during which d'Hocquincourt gave separate audiences to the King's Envoys, and those of Spain, not concealing from either party what the other offered him, as if it had been free for him to make what choice he pleased. Mazarin was mortally uneasy to see the Court reduced to come to a treaty with a subject who set up the standard of rebellion : but the Spanish army was advanced as far as Cambrai ; the Prince of Condé with his troops was but two leagues from Peronne, and his party was beginning to get new life in Paris : should the Prince become master of the two towns in question, the civil broils would perhaps be renewed ; and the King far from continuing his conquests in the Low Countries, would be obliged to bring back the war into the heart of the Kingdom : so critical a situation required a great deal of temporising. Turenne, like another Fabius, saved his country by this method, disposed Mazarin to finish without violence an affair, which had he employed force, might have had fatal consequences. In short, the treaty was concluded : Marshal d'Hocquincourt left Peronne, resign'd his Government in favour of his son, and retired home with 200000 crowns. The Prince of Condé returned without delay to join the Spanish army upon the Sambre, and as it was apprehended, that he might attack Condé or St. Guislain in his retreat, the Viscount returned to the army, and advanced with it as far as St. Quentin : but the Prince not undertaking any thing, the King and the Cardinal went to Paris about the beginning of December, and the Viscount followed them as soon as he had sent his army into winter quarters. It was then, that by the advice of Turenne the cavalry were quarter'd in the villages, and had their pay assign'd them on the land tax, at the rate of twenty pence



pence a day each trooper : by this means the ex-<sup>An. 1655.</sup>  
 pence of remittances was saved, and all defi-  
 ciencies were prevented ; the troops caused themselves  
 to be paid upon the spot ; the troopers dispersed up  
 and down in the villages, served them for safe-  
 guards, and expended there a good part of their  
 pay ; the peasants followed their husbandry with  
 more security ; and contrary to the common opinion  
 a great many villages got again into a good  
 condition, by this new method of quartering the  
 troops.

When all the troops were in quarters, Duke <sup>Duke Francis of Lorraine with his troops deserts the Spaniards.</sup> Francis of Lorraine finding that there was no talk of setting his brother at liberty, and that all the officers of his army murmured against the King of Spain for keeping their master prisoner, got all the Lorrainers together into one *Corps*, and marched towards the frontiers of Picardy ; from whence he signified, that he was coming to put himself in the King's service. Louis XIV treated with him on the condition that the Lorraine troops should take the oath of fidelity to France, so long as Duke Charles should continue in prison ; that after his enlargement, the Lorrainers should be free to obey the orders of their natural and lawful Sovereign ; and that in the mean time they should be treated like the other troops in his Majesty's pay. Duke Francis came afterwards to Paris with his two children Prince Ferdinand and Prince Charles. The Court spent the winter in perfect tranquillity. The Cardinal finding his authority established, suited himself to every body, and managed each man according to his character : he redoubled his friendship for the Viscount, and trusted him with the most important secrets of State.

About the end of this year, England, which had <sup>The Duke of York leaves France.</sup> been a long time in suspense what party to espouse, declared for France. One of the conditions of the treaty

An. 1655. treaty was that Louis XIV. should no longer grant protection to Charles II. and should oblige his brother the Duke of York to leave the Kingdom. King Charles observing the union that was forming between Mazarin and Cromwell, had the year before retired to Cologne, where he had been maintained at the expence of the Emperor and the Princes of Germany.

An. 1656. In the beginning of the year 1656, Charles went to Bruffels, where he sign'd a treaty with the King of Spain, and sent to his brother the Duke of York to come to him into Flanders. The Duke used all his endeavours to avoid leaving France: the education he had there received, the friends he had there acquired, the high reputation he had already gained there, and perhaps the Scots blood in his veins; all these made it impossible for him to leave without regret a Nation he always loved. He imparted his concern to the Viscount de Turenne, whom he loved with the affection of a Son, and asked his advice. The Viscount advised him to write to King Charles, that it would be prudent to interest in their common misfortunes both France and Spain; that while the Duke of York was engaging the protection of his Most Christian Majesty by his services in the army, Charles and his brother the Duke of Gloucester might establish themselves in the friendship of the Catholick King; that the Spaniards having made no mention of the Duke of York in their treaty, did not seem desirous of his disengaging himself from France; that if hereafter they should require it, Charles might privately consent to his staying in the French army, and appear angry with him for his seeming disobedience. The Duke of York followed the Viscount's advice, which was approved of by the Queen his mother. He sent an express to Bruffels to King Charles, but the King was so far from consenting to his request, that

that he ordered him to come and join him without delay ; the Duke with the consent of Louis XIV. instantly obeyed. An. 1656.

The Court of Spain believing that the ill success of their affairs in Flanders was owing to the misunderstanding between the Prince of Condé and the Arch-duke, prevailed with the Emperor to recall the latter, and at the same time the Count de Fuenfaldagne : In their place were sent Dom John of Austria natural son of the King of Spain ; and the Marquis de Caracena had orders to accompany the young Prince, and assist him with his Counsels.

In the mean time the Emperor formed great designs for the establishment of his only son the Arch-duke, whom he had already caused to be declared King of Bohemia and Hungary, and whom he intended for his successor both in his hereditary Dominions, and in the Empire. But even this was not enough to satisfy his ambition : he was desirous of reuniting the two branches of the House of Austria, by a marriage of the Archduke with the Infanta of Spain, then presumptive Heiress to the Crown. Cardinal Mazarin, who was no less fond of obtaining that Princess for the King his master, dispatched the Count de Lyonne Minister and Secretary of State to negotiate this important alliance : the unexpected arrival of Lyonne at a time when there was a bloody war subsisting between the two Crowns, both astonished and perplexed the Court of Madrid. Philip the IV. having come to a resolution in Council, not to listen to the King's suit, for fear he should acquire a rightful pretension upon the Spanish Monarchy, named the Count de Pegneranda, the ablest negotiator of his time, to treat with the French Minister. In the very first conference Pegneranda signified to Lyonne, that his journey would prove fruitless, and that the Catholick King could not come into a proposal so advantageous

An. 1656. ous to France, and so dangerous for the House of Austria.

The Vis-  
count invests  
Valencien-  
nes.

This negotiation breaking off, the two Crowns prepared to push the war with more vigour than ever. The King left Paris, and repaired to the frontiers about the beginning of June; and Marshal de la Ferté not being yet come from his government of Lorrain, where he was indisposed, Turenne proposed to besiege one of the principal towns of Flanders. The Spanish army not being yet assembled, he marched expeditiously with the best part of his cavalry to Condé, and thence towards Tournai, thinking to surprize this place which was ungarrison'd; but passing by Mortagne, where the Scarp and the Scheld join, he learnt that there were several Spanish regiments encamped near Tournai. As this town was a good way within the enemy's country, and consequently at a great distance from the places whence the French could draw their provisions and ammunition, he changed his purpose, return'd to Condé, left his bridge at Mortagne, under the guard of a body of troops, and marched to Valenciennes, where he arrived about the middle of June. There were in the town no more of regular troops than 2000 foot, and 200 horse, but the inhabitants, to the number of 10000, were equally capable of serving.

The Scheld divides Valenciennes into two parts, and forms great morasses both above and below it. Between this town and Condé are wide plains, and on the other side the Scheld towards St. Amand stands mount Azin, which commands the river. Turenne invested the place the very evening he arrived, drove the enemy from two redoubts, and the day following began his lines of circumvallation. La Ferté's army was posted on the eminence to the right of the river towards St. Amand, that of Turenne on the left of the river towards the plain; his



his line of circumvallation began at the Abbey of St. Sauve situate on the bank of the Scheld, on that side of Valenciennes which is towards Condé, and ended at the same river on the opposite side towards Bouchain. His quarter, which was on the high road to Quénoi, was separated from that of the Lorrainers on the left by a rivulet; beyond the Lorrainers was the King's household, commanded by the Duke of Navailles, which extended itself to a dike of fascines which ran cross the morafs, and terminated at the Scheld. Two bridges of boats had been made upon the river, one above the town, another below it at St. Sauve, for a communication between the two armies. The third day the lines were sufficiently advanced to hinder the place from being relieved, and the enemy tried in vain to throw seven or eight hundred men into it by the Lorrainers quarter; some of them were taken, and the rest retired to Bouchain. The sixth day the circumvallation was finished with a double ditch defended by pallisades: the men wrought first at the avenues that were the most exposed, and afterwards at those places which were the least in danger of being attacked.

The Spaniards made use of several *Reservoirs* near Bouchain, to swell the river Scheld, and drown the country. As the waters increased daily, the Viscount employed some regiments of foot, and almost all his horse, in carrying fascines to strengthen the dike from the Duke of Navailles quarter to the river. For the space of more than a thousand paces there was every where the depth of ten foot water, over which they threw a bridge of fascines, that in some places floated, and at others was fastened by stakes; but the enemy drawing up all their sluices, there was such a swell of water as took the men up to the waist, even upon the dike. However, by dint of labour the army got the better

An. 1656. ter of these difficulties: the Viscount caused the *Reservoir* to be drain'd, several channels to be dug, and the dike to be raised, which was so contrived as to throw the greatest part of the water towards Valenciennes, and drown one quarter of the city. Turrenne having secured his camp, and the communication with the neighbouring Places, at length opened the trenches.

26 June

The Spaniards come to raise the siege.

Soon after, the enemy, who had assembled at Douai, came and posted themselves on an eminence near the Lorrainers camp, within half a canon-shot of the French lines: they had on their left the Scheld, over which they laid six bridges, and on their right a small brook, over which they laid others: their army, tho' not so strong as the King's, yet amounted to above 20000 men; they intrenched themselves as soon as they arrived, and continued seven or eight days without undertaking any thing. The Viscount foreseeing that the enemy would attack him in his camp, no longer looked upon the siege as his principal affair, but turned his thoughts chiefly to the care of his lines.

Marshal de la Ferté, tho' still indisposed, came to the army ten days after the opening of the trenches: as his quarter was that which the enemy could easiest attack, the Viscount had fortified it with double lines pallisaded, one of which was new and the other old: but the Marshal thinking the first sufficient levelled the other. At the three weeks end, a branch of the trench was carried on at the Viscount's attack to the brink of the town ditch, and another to the ditch of the half-moon: at la Ferté's attack they took a *tenaille*. The besieged had already done their best, and were beginning to slacken in their efforts the three or four last days, when at length the Spaniards drew up in battalia in the morning, and sent away their baggage to Bouchain. It was not doubted but they would attack the lines

as soon as it was dark, and the besiegers pass'd the whole night under arms. As there were but 12000 foot in the King's army, and as it was necessary to employ the infantry at both the approaches, so vast a circuit could not be equally guarded; Turenne to supply this defect as well as he could, placed a body of horse behind the line, and ordered some regiments of foot to hold themselves ready to march to whatever place should be attacked. There was no alarm the first night, and the next day the enemy appeared in order of battle without baggage: advice was brought that the principal attack would be on la Ferté's quarter, and that Count de Marfin who was at St. Amand was to advance with three or four thousand men to attack the Viscount's. As the enemy were near enough to reach the intrenchments in half an hour, la Ferté could make no change in the disposition of his troops. Turenne put him in mind two or three times to be upon the watch, and to place guards every where: but the Marshal look'd upon the Viscount's advice only as an affront and slighted it. In the beginning of the night the Prince of Condé and Dom John pass'd the Scheld, advanced toward la Ferté's quarter, drew up their troops in battalia, came to the outward ditch of the intrenchment without being discover'd, fell on with a wide front and carried the line with little difficulty. At the first firing of the musketeers two regiments of Turenne's army pass'd the dike and the bridge, and four others had orders to follow them. La Ferté finding the Spanish troops had entered his quarters, ran with some squadrons to repulse them, but the confusion was already so great that he could do nothing effectual. The enemy's infantry having filled up the ditches and broke down the pallisades marched strait to the town about day-break, while the cavalry pursued the run-aways who sought to repass the river. As there was but one bridge, the passage over which was encumbered by the baggage, the Spaniards

An. 1656.

16 July,

U

made

An. 1656. made a great many prisoners ; la Ferté was taken at the head of his gendarmes with more than 400 officers and near 4000 soldiers : the remains of the rout escaped to Condé. The two regiments which the Viscount had sent over the dike having been defeated the other four halted, and Turenne came up to them soon after the beginning of the fight, which did not last above a quarter of an hour : Marfin had attack'd Turenne's quarter at the same time that the Spaniards had fallen on la Ferté's, but he was vigorously repulsed.

The Viscount's fine retreat.

At day-break the shouts of joy in Valenciennes proclaimed that the town was relieved. Turenne sent forthwith to the trenches with orders to his troops to retire, but they being above a league off the orders arrived too late, so that he lost one half of them. The Viscount instantly commanded back the infantry that were on the dike, ordered the canon which were on that part of the lines to be dismounted, and that the guard horses should be made use of to draw them from place to place in case of an attack. He order'd the lines to be levelled, and as he marched with his troops to the Lorrainers quarter, made the Duke de Navailles dislodge ; when he had assembled his troops he quit- ted the intrenchment leaving some tents and baggage behind him. It was impossible to avoid being in a little confusion at first, but in a short time he got into such good order that the enemy durst not pursue him. He advanced towards Quénoi, and all the army believing that he would retire to the frontiers of France, the baggage began to file off beyond that town : but the Viscount sent orders to stop it, and having chosen a camp near Quénoi lodged there that night ; the next day he received a re-inforcement of 1500 men who were to have escorted a convoy to the camp ; he waited for the enemy contrary to the opinion of all his officers, and even resolved to hazard an engagement rather than fly. Had M. de Turenne had nothing to fear but the loss of Quénoi, he would have retired into Picardy : but  
being



being sensible that such a retreat would alarm the Court, give new life to the Prince of Condé's party, and cause a general discontent in the Kingdom, he reasoned with his officers upon the matter without holding a council of war, and continued to encamp as if he apprehended nothing. As he had no tools to make strong works, and would not make slight ones, he left his camp open.

The Prince of Condé and Dom John advanced towards Quênoi at the head of their troops. As soon as the Viscount perceived them he marched to meet them with some regiments of the main guard. The Spaniards not doubting but he would fly before them, had already detach'd 3000 horse to pursue him; but when they were approached near enough to discover his camp they were surpriz'd to see that he was not entrenched, that his tents were standing, and that he waited resolutely for them without stirring. At the first approach of the enemy, the French began to move the baggage, but Turenne firing a pistol at a soldier who was loading a cart, commanded on pain of death that nobody should quit his post. By this astonishing intrepidity, and the little precaution he seem'd to take on so pressing an occasion, he quite removed the apprehensions of the army. The Spaniards continued two days in presence without daring to attempt any thing. The third, two or three thousand men who had escaped to Condé from Marshal de la Ferté's defeat, and had afterwards marched to St. Guislain, and from thence to Landrecies, came and joined the Viscount at Quênoi; upon which the enemy thought proper to march towards Condé. Turenne perceiving their design sent a thousand horse each with a sack of corn behind him to victual the place, from whence he had drawn abundance of provisions during the siege of Valenciennes. \* "There is scarce a General in the

An. 1656.  
The Prince of Condé and Don John pursue him but without attacking him.

\* Mem. de Buffi Rabutin of this year. p. 371.

An. 1656. world, says Buffi Rabutin, “ beside Marshal Turenne, who in presence of a victorious army, much stronger than his own, would have dared to send away so considerable a detachment as that was. A man must possess the art of war to perfection to act thus ; *These are indeed master strokes.*

Letter of le Tellier Secretary of State, to the Viscount on his fine retreat. As soon as the news of this famous encampment arriv'd at Court, le Tellier Secretary of State wrote to the Viscount in these terms. “ By your prudence, my Lord, and by a vigorous conduct, you have restor'd the reputation of the King's arms. In truth nothing can be finer than your encampment near Quênoi, after the defeat at Valenciennes : thus to have made head against the enemy flush'd with success and even in their own country, and to have obliged them to retire tho' victorious ; this is one of those strokes that are peculiar to the great masters in the military art.” See nevertheless how the Viscount speaks of this so much admir'd action in a letter to his Lady dated from the camp before Quênoi. *The enemy came pretty near this place, they staid two days and then marched towards Condé.*

The Spaniards besiege and retake Condé.

The siege of Valenciennes being rais'd, Condé was so wedg'd within the enemy's country, that it was a very easy matter for them, without separating their quarters, to hinder either men or provisions being thrown into it. Turenne receiving an account from the Governor, that there were not provisions in the place for above ten or twelve days, did not think it adviseable to make any attempt to hinder its being taken ; he contented himself with having retarded it by the succour he had sent thither, thereby getting time to rest and refresh his troops. As soon as the town had capitulated, the Viscount pass'd the Scheld, march'd to Arras, and from thence towards Lens, with a view to hinder the Spaniards returning to the frontiers of the Kingdom, and to draw them into Artois, which was full of strong towns belonging to the King. While

\* While Turenne was in his camp near Lens, An. 1656. where he staid twelve days, he sent the Count de Grandpré, afterwards Marshal de Joyeuse, at the head of some squadrons to Arras, to escort a convoy that was coming from thence ; the young Count having an engagement with a Lady, let the convoy go away under the command of the Major of his regiment. A Spanish party that was marauding attack'd the escort, but was repuls'd and defeated by the Major who happily brought the convoy safe to Lens. M. de Turenne was inform'd of Grandpré's folly, and knowing it wou'd have ruin'd him at Court, said to the officers who were about him ; *The Count de Grandpré will be very angry with me for having given him a private commission, which kept him at Arras at a time when he wou'd have had an opportunity of shewing his bravery.* The Count at his return being told what his General had said, ran to his tent, threw himself at his feet and express'd his gratitude and repentance with tears full of affection. The Viscount then spoke to him with a paternal severity ; and his reproofs had such an effect on that young officer, that far from falling again into the same error, he signaliz'd himself by the gallantest actions, during the rest of the campaign, and became at length one of the ablest Captains of his age.

The enemy, after they had refresh'd themselves in the plains between Cambrai and Bapaume, march'd to Lens in pursuit of the King's army. Turenne foreseeing that he should soon be obliged to decamp for want of forage, went and pitch'd at Houdain in an advantageous post, his right wing on an eminence, his infantry and his left wing in the plain. The Spaniards encouraged by his retreat continued to pursue, and between eight and nine in the morning appear'd within a league and half of

\* The author had this from the Abbot de Sassenage to whom the Marshal de Joyeuse often related it ; also from the Marquis d'Imecourt.

An. 1656. his army, but seeing it in a fighting posture, they halted for more than three hours, and when they had held a council of war, came forward as if they intended to fight; however, the day pass'd without their venturing an attack. Towards the evening they drew up in battalia a quarter of a league from the French army, and extended their horse and foot in the same manner as the Viscount, who spent the night in making some *redans* at the head of his left wing. At day-break the enemy came to view his camp, and the whole day pass'd in skirmishes without coming to a general battle. The good order, with the spirit and resolution that appear'd in the French troops, once again discouraged the Spaniards: and in spite of all the Prince of Condé cou'd do, they decamp'd the next day without coming to an action, and return'd towards Lens. The King's army, whose Confidence was increas'd by their retreat, became now the pursuers, incommoding and harassing them in their retreat by frequent skirmishes. They encamp'd near Douai, and some days after sent a body of foot to invest S. Guislain, and advanced themselves to cover the siege.

Turenne return'd, and passing by Arras, march'd strait to the river Somme, in order to conceal his design from the garrison of Cambrai; and then leaving his infantry behind him, turn'd short with his cavalry, kept along the river, and went and invested la Capelle, where the Spaniards had their principal magazines. The Viscount's infantry arrived two days after the cavalry, and as there were but two hundred men in the place, the besiegers in one night carried the counterscarp, took three half-moons, pass'd the ditch, and set the miners to the bastion; notwithstanding that all these outworks were well *frais'd* and palisaded. The Prince of Condé who was with Dom John before S. Guislain, immediately rais'd that siege and came to relieve la Capelle; he  
advanc'd



advanc'd with the Spaniards within a league of the circumvallation: but a heavy rain during their whole march having fatigued the infantry they did not think proper to fight, and remain'd two days in presence of the King's army, which continued the siege, battered the walls to powder with their canon, and forced the town to surrender. As soon as la Capelle was taken, the breaches repair'd, and a good garrison placed in it, Turenne marched with all expedition, and after incredible fatigue arrived within a league of St. Guislain, sent Castelnau thither with 500 foot, provisions for eight months, and ammunition in abundance. The enemy made haste to reach St. Guislain, but did not appear before the place till two hours after it had been supply'd with warlike stores and provisions; nor durst they undertake any thing farther during the remainder of the campaign, which they put an end to soon after. The King's army staid in Cambresis till the beginning of November and then repass'd the Somme retiring into France. Thus it was that Turenne repair'd the defeat at Valenciennes, check'd the ardor of the great Condé, surpris'd the magazines of a victorious army, and oblig'd it to retreat before him, at the same time that it had undertaken to pursue him. He no sooner arriv'd at Court but compliments were made him on the happy success of the campaign, and he obtain'd a favour he had long sued for, which was, not to serve with Marshal de la Ferté, who, on the King's paying his ransom, had been set at liberty.

While the Viscount was at Court, the Duke of Orleans having made up his differences with the Cardinal came to Compiègne to wait upon the King, who went half a league out of the town to meet him, and received him with marks of the sincerest affection; he took him into his coach and carried him to the castle: the Queen seem'd to have forgot all past affronts:

Duke of Orleans returns to Court.

An. 1656. fronts : and the Cardinal who entertained him in the evening, had all the appearances of a perfect reconciliation. The Duke after he had been eight days at Court returned to Blois, where he continued quiet and peaceable to his death. There was now no shadow of the Fronde remaining ; the Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Conti, and the Dukes of Longueville had obtained the King's pardon : the Prince of Condé was entirely with the Spaniards, and Cardinal de Retz not daring to return into France was wandering in disguise over all Christendom : the Bordelois being returned to their duty, and all the rest of the provinces having submitted, there was a perfect tranquillity within the Kingdom, and Cardinal Mazarin disposed of every thing with an absolute authority.

An. 1657. The Court to reward the Viscount de Turenne, and encourage him to execute the great designs he was meditating for the next campaign, declared him Colonel General of the horse, an employment which has ever since been in his family. \* After the raising of the siege of Arras and the death of the Duke of Joyeuse, who had possessed that employment, together with the office of High-Chamberlain, the Prince of Conti then commanding in Catalonia, had asked the former ; but the King had already promised it to the Viscount de Turenne, and in reality gave it him, but on condition that he should not assume the title, nor discharge the functions belonging to it so long as the war continued. His commission was however made out in the beginning of this year ; and some time after, his nephew, the Duke of Bouillon, was declared High-Chamberlain.

A new alliance between France and England against Spain.

Cardinal Mazarin being intent upon repairing the losses of the last year, and putting the King's forces into a condition to undertake something great, made

\* See father Daniel, Histoire de la Milice Française. Tom. 2. p. 456.

a league

a league offensive and defensive with Cromwell against Spain. By this treaty the Usurper engaged to send six thousand foot into Flanders, on condition that the French should undertake the siege of Mardyke, Gravelin, or Dunkerque, and that if either of the two former places were first taken it should be put into his hands to be as a hostage till he should be made master of Dunkerque, which he was to keep, restoring the other to the King. Upon the report of this league, Charles II. who was at Bruges, caused some troops to be rais'd for the service of the Spaniards, and gave the command of them to the Count de Marfin, who served no longer under the Prince of Condé.

The Viscount took the field towards the beginning of May ; and finding that the English were slow in coming, and that the Spaniards were wholly busied in thinking how to preserve their maritime towns, formed a design to surprize Cambray which was ungarrisoned. The King went to Montreuil, in order to make the enemy believe that his army would be chiefly employ'd towards the sea coast ; and Marshal de la Ferté had orders to march towards the frontiers to hinder the passing of the Prince of Condé's troops which had wintered in the provinces of Luxembourg, Gelderland, Juliers and Brabant. The Viscount setting out from the neighbourhood of Bethune with all his cavalry about the end of the month, crossed the Scheld over a bridge of boats, arrived in a day and a night before Cambray, and encamped a little above the town in the road to Bouchain : his infantry joining him the same day he instantly invested the place, and hoped to be so well shut up the next day, partly by intrenchments and partly by the baggage and carriages belonging to the army, as to be secure from being attacked by the enemy's horse, which, as he reckoned, could not be up with him before that time, whatever diligence they used ; neither could he

An. 1657.

The Prince  
of Condé re-  
lieves Cam-  
bray.

An. 1657. he imagine that la Ferté had already let the Prince of Condé pass. The Spaniards having desired the Prince to come speedily to the defence of Flanders, he crossed the Meuse, marched with all his cavalry to Valenciennes, arrived about ten a clock in the morning at Bouchain the very same day that the Viscount invested Cambray, and about eleven at night advanced towards the town with 3000 horse. How expeditious and secret soever his march was, Turenne had notice of it ; and being persuaded that the Prince would fetch a compass to avoid the French camp, he went and posted himself in a place, where according to all the rules of war Condé must pass. By good fortune for the Prince his guide misled him, and brought him by the high-road from Bouchain : he perceived the mistake, but without being disconcerted, marched his troops in three columns, three squadrons in front, forced his way through two lines of the King's horse, and arrived about day-break at the counterscarp of the citadel. The Count de Salazar Governor of Cambray so little expected this succour, that the Prince was a long time at the palisades before those within would open to him. Turenne having learnt the number and quality of the troops that had entered the place, thought proper to raise the siege, and sent advice of it to Court. Condé left a sufficient garrison in Cambray, returned to Brussels, and sent the rest of his troops to the general rendezvous near Mons.

30 May.

Marshal de  
la Ferté be-  
sieges Mont-  
médi.

This ill success disconcerted Turenne's measures, and made him take the road to S. Quentin to cover the frontiers : the succouring of Cambray having given the enemy time to assemble, there was no undertaking any thing between the sea and the Scheld. The six thousand English who had landed, join'd the King's army at S. Quentin. The young King came to the camp with the Cardinal, and sent orders to Marshal de la Ferté to go and besiege Montmédi in the province



vince of Luxembourg, in order to make a diversion An. 1657. and hinder the enemy either from attacking some place in Flanders not sufficiently provided, or making a new irruption into France. La Ferté march'd towards Montmédi, which had but 400 men to defend it; Turenne sent him 4000 foot, after which putting some regiments of infantry into Landrecies and Quênoi, he kept with the rest of his troops upon the frontiers, in order to hinder Montmédi from being relieved, and watch the motions of the Spaniards. The siege of this place lasted two entire months by reason of the rocks near the counterescarp.

During this time, the Prince of Condé and Don John of Austria made several marches and counter-marches to amuse the Viscount, divert him from his purpose, and fall suddenly upon Calais. The Spaniards endeavoured to surprise Calais. Having joined their forces near Charlemont, they made as if they would go to the relief of Montmédi, and then instantly turning back took the road to Calais: they detached the Prince de Lignes to seize, when the tide should be out, a suburb of the town which joins the key. If that enterprize had succeeded they would have been masters of the place in a few hours; but the Prince de Lignes came too late, the waves were already beating against the walls, so that the project miscarried: the inhabitants taking the alarm doubled their guard, fortified that weak part, and deprived the Spaniards of all hopes of surprising it. All these motions and marches of the enemy proving of no effect, the Prince of Condé and Dom John returned to Aire, crossed Artois and Hainault, and at length arriv'd at Marienbourg, designing to succour Montmédi: but the place had already surrendered. 6 August.

\* The Viscount immediately decamped, crossed the Sambre at Aimeries, and marched to besiege St. Venant. Turenne besieges St. Venant. a town upon the Lys in the county of Artois: he knew that the enemy were fatigued with

\* Duke of York's Mem.

their

An. 1657. their fruitless marches backward and forward, and that he might invest the place before they could throw any succour into it. He sent almost all his baggage before, passed by Neuville near Bouchain, and by Sailli upon the Scarp, and made a march of five and twenty leagues in three days. The Prince of Condé pressed the Spaniards to leave Marienbourg without delay; but he could not prevail with them to decamp till the 14th of August, and they did not get to Calonne upon the Lys near St. Venant before the 20th: there they had advice that the town was already invested, and they found there was no probable means of making the French raise the siege, but by surprizing a convoy of 4 or 500 waggons, which was to come to their camp the next day from Bethune. The Spaniards might have decamped from Calonne at day-break; but notwithstanding all the Prince of Condé could say, they did not move till towards noon. While Dom John and the Marquis de Caracena were taking their *Sieste*, or afternoon's nap, in their coaches, the Duke of York at the head of the infantry entered a plain, from whence he perceived the convoy escorted only by three squadrons, and descending from the village of Montbernensson with all expedition towards the camp: as he had no cavalry, it was impossible for him to come up with them, but he instantly gave notice of what he had seen to the Prince de Lignes, who was come into the same plain with four or five squadrons: the Duke desired him to march with expedition, and attack the French; but the Prince answered, that in the Spanish army, to take the least step without express orders from the Commanders in chief, might be as much as a man's head was worth\*. The Spanish Generals were sleeping, and their servants durst not disturb them. They at length waked, and then sent, but too late, some

\* Duke of York's Memoirs,

squadrons to attack the convoy, which about four o'clock in the afternoon got within the lines of the besiegers. Another convoy that was coming from Arras by Lilers, had not the same success, tho' escorted by eight regiments of horse, and 1500 foot: the Marquis de Boutteville pursued it with 1200 men reinforced by the garrisons of Aire and St. Omer, surprized it near St. Venant in a place full of defiles wherethe foremost could not succour the hindmost, fell upon their rear-guard, routed it, killed a great many men, and carried off some part of the baggage †.

The Spaniards encamped at Montbernensson, whence they resolved to go and invest Ardres; but they deferred their march for some days, lest the Viscount, who had not yet opened the trenches before St. Venant, should leave that siege, and come and force them to a battle; but as soon as they understood that the trenches were opened, they drew near Ardres, where there were but 300 foot soldiers in garrison. Had they attacked the place the same night they arrived before it, they would have carried it; but they lost four and twenty hours in making an useless circumvallation. While the Prince of Condé was suffering these delays with the utmost impatience, a council of war was held at the Marquis de Caracena's quarters, to consider by what part to make the attack. The Generals being assembled, went all up to the top of a tower to view the place with prospective glasses; and abundance of superfluous reasoning there was about an enterprise which required not the least reflection. At length they agreed to attack a half-moon that was between two bastions; and of these bastions the Duke of York was to conduct the approaches to that on the right, the Prince of Condé to that on the left. The attacks began towards the evening,

An. 1657.

The Spaniards besiege Ardres.

† Turenne's Memoirs.

and

An. 1657. and as the besieged had no men to defend their out-works, the besiegers advanced in the night without difficulty quite to the ditch, where they made a lodgment before they set the miners to work.

The Viscount takes St. Venant, relieves Ardres, and besieges Mardyke.

While the enemy were losing their time at Ardres, Turenne pressed the siege of St. Venant night and day without intermission; and as Cardinal Mazarin had not sent him any money, he cut his own plate to pieces to be distributed to the soldiers. The troops animated by his generosity, forwarded the works with incredible diligence, passed a wide ditch full of water, seized some outworks, filled up the town ditch, and pressed the besieged so hard, that they asked to capitulate. Turenne, without waiting till the capitulation was sign'd, detached instantly 4000 horse to go towards Ardres; and he ordered them to pass near the walls of Aire, that the garrison might fire the canon of the town upon them, and that Don John hearing this noise, might imagine the whole French army was coming to fall upon him. The stratagem succeeded; the Spaniards raised the siege, and marched away to the side of Bourbourg. The violent rains, the darkness of the night, and the dirty roads full of water, extremely fatigued their troops, who intrenched themselves the next day between the Aa and the Colme. The Viscount had partly the same difficulties of the storm and bad roads to struggle with in going over the plains of St. Omer in the way to Ardres, where he learnt that the enemy were moved off: he immediately returned towards the Lys, seized upon La Motte-aux-Bois, which incommoded St. Venant very much, and rased it to the ground. He then marched towards the Colme, possessed himself of Wate, Bourbourg, and several other forts, and obliged the Spaniards to retire under the canon of Dunkerque about the middle of September; they sent three Italian regiments to Mardyke, detached several



several battalions with some horse, to throw them-<sup>An. 1657.</sup> selves into Gravelin, and encamped with the rest of their army behind the canal of Dunkerque. The Viscount followed them close; and as he thought the season too far advanced to undertake the siege of these two last named places, which were provided with every thing necessary for a long and vigorous defence, he fell upon Mardyke, besieged it, took it in a few days, and according to the treaty made<sup>3d October.</sup> with Cromwell, put it into the hands of the English.

After this the Viscount approached Gravelin without delay, having now conceived hopes of taking it, passing the winter there, and by that means of securing both Mardyke and Bourbourg: but the Spaniards to save Gravelin, drew up all their sluices, and drowned the country for four leagues round the place: besides, the rains which fell were so excessive, that there was no encamping there; Turenne found himself obliged to retire with his army beyond Bourbourg, where he left 2000 men, continuing his march towards Ruminghem two long leagues from it; in the six weeks that he staid there he raised forts upon the banks of the river Aa, laid bridges over it, made the canals navigable, and so contrived matters, that his camp had a communication with Bourbourg and Mardyke, in order to cover the latter. In the end of November the French quitted Ruminghem, and the enemy who had been encamped behind Dunkerque, retired into Flanders. The Viscount return'd to Court, after he had led his army into Boulenois; there it staid till the end of December, and was then distributed into the several Provinces of France.

The beginning of the year 1658 was not very for-<sup>An. 1658.</sup> tunate to the French; on one side Marshal d'Hoc-  
quincourt, who had enter'd anew into engagements  
with the Prince of Condé, gained over the Town-<sup>Turenne  
marches to  
besiege Dun-  
kerque.</sup> Major

An. 1658. Major of Hedin, who commanded there upon the death of the Governor, and prevailed with him to receive Spanish troops into the place; on another side, Marshal d'Aumont, who lay at anchor in the road of Ostend with 1500 men, let himself be cheated by the inhabitants of that town, who by pretending they would deliver it up to him, engaged him to come in over their bridge; the Spaniards who had hid themselves in cellars, instantly sallied out, and took five or six hundred of his men prisoners. There were at the same time several commotions in the different Provinces of France among the *Noblesse*, especially in Normandy: the Dutches of Longueville was now too much absorpt in devotion to enter into cabals; and yet nevertheless she did not fail even from her Retreat to influence the chief leaders and make them incline to what side she pleased. In the mean time Cromwell with an insolent haughtiness called upon the Cardinal to besiege Dunkerque; and as the situation of affairs constrained his Eminence to dissemble the Protector's arrogance, the Viscount had orders in the spring to advance with his army towards the sea-coasts, that he might examine the practicableness of an enterprize which could neither be begun nor postpon'd without great inconveniences: on one hand, to attack Dunkerque while Furnes, Bergues, and Gravelin which surrounded it were untaken, was to let himself be besieged at the same time that he was besieging; and besides, to invest it in the month of May when there was yet no forage for the cavalry would be exposing them to the danger of perishing: on the other hand, the delaying of the affair would give the enemy time to get together, and might perhaps disoblige Cromwell, to whom Spain was making great offers to disengage him from France. These latter considerations determined the Viscount to undertake the siege. As soon as the inhabitants of Dunkerque had notice of his

his march, they pull'd up their sluices, and laid the country under water as far as the lake of Bergues, form'd by the overflowings of the Colme. The country being drown'd and full of Marshes, there was no way through it but by the dike which goes from Bergues to Dunkerque: and even this road the immoderate rains of the winter had so spoilt and broke, that in many places the water covered it. The Spaniards having raised on this dike two considerable forts, which mutually defended each other, posted a thousand men in each, and fortified the rivers and canals with a great number of strong redoubts; they sent the Marquis de Lède, a consummate master in the art of defending towns, to throw himself into Dunkerque with 2200 foot and 800 horse, which he drew from Nieuport, Furnes, Dixmuyde, and the other neighbouring towns.

Tho' sea and land and the season were against the Viscount's enterprize, he was not discouraged, but persisted steadily in his design, unmoved by the remonstrances of his officers or the fears of his friends. As the King was come near Hedin at the head of 10 or 12000 men to cover the frontiers, the Viscount could have no more than about 7 or 8000. With this inconsiderable army he marched into Artois, detached the Marquis de Crequi from Bethune, with 800 horse to seize Cassel, passed the Lys himself at St. Venant, and advanced towards the Colme. Having surpriz'd a redoubt where the Spaniards had posted thirty men to defend the passage of the river, he cross'd it without opposition, and then cast about how to reach Dunkerque, about which the country being under water looked like a sea. He ordered a great number of fascines to be carried to strengthen and mend the roads: several ditches to be filled up, the most passable to be sought out by sounding, bridges to be laid over the water-gangs and canals, and piles to be driven down, and planks

An. 1658 laid upon them; these precautions however were only for the baggage and canon. The order was no sooner given for marching towards Dunkerque, but the soldiers holding their muskets high, boldly waded through the water, contending with one another for the glory of being foremost. The advanced guards of the Spaniards in the fort, and upon the dike, took a fright at the approach of the French, and ran away, without waiting till they were attacked; the greater part fled to Dunkerque, and the rest to Bergues. Turenne having seized the several redoubts and forts on the dike and the canals, arrived at length with his army before the place.

Situation of Dunkerque, and the disposition of the lines.

Dunkerque is situated among those white sand hills called the \* *Dunes*, which stretch themselves on the coast of the Germanick sea, from Calais to Ecluse: on the South it is encompassed with canals and morasses, and on the North by the sea, whose waves beat against the foot of the Dunes at high water, but at low water it leaves a sandy shore quite dry, five hundred paces broad, which is called the *Estrang* †, or Strand. The waters covered all the low lands about the town, and there was neither covering for the soldiers, nor wood to build barraques for them; the Viscount was obliged to make every thing necessary for the siege, and for the subsistence of his troops to be brought from Calais; provisions, forrage, tools, palisades, planks, and even fascines. When all things were got ready, he set the men to work upon the lines which began at the edge of the strand to the East, went over the *Dunes*, crossed the canals of Mardyke, Bourbourg, Bergues and Furnes, and turning about the city terminated at the strand to the West, making a curve in form of a crescent, of which the opening was to the sea. Crom-

\* Dunes comes from an old Celtick word, which signifies hill or eminence.

† Estrang comes from the Teutonic word *Strang*; which signifies shore:



well in performance of the treaty with France, sent a naval force to hinder succours being thrown into the place; so that Dunkerque was totally invested by sea and land. But as the strand was left dry for six hours every day and every night, and as the enemy might that way have an easy passage either from Nieupoort to the East, or Gravelin on the West, it was necessary to shut it up. In order thereto the Viscount, at each extremity of his line, made a staccado, which reached cross the strand quite to the low water mark. These staccados were made of huge piles fastened together with double chains; behind the piles was a barricade of bomb chests, which were drawn thence by horses as the tide came in, and as fast as it went out again replaced; so that there never was any space left void: behind the bomb chests were ranged several barks with canon, which defended the approach of the staccados. A part of the cavalry kept guard every night upon the shore; and lastly, some of the sand hills that were very high or too far off to be inclosed within the lines, were made tenable by intrenchments, and troops were placed there to defend them. The Cardinal brought the King and the whole Court to be spectators of so fine a siege.

The works were scarce finished, when the 6000 English landed and joined the army. Lockart the English Ambassador had the command of them in chief, but left every thing to the management \* of Major General Morgan, an experienced soldier, and one of the bravest officers of his time: the army very weak at first, grew stronger every day by the arrival of new troops from France. Turenne ordered several bridges to be made over the canals, in order to a communication between the different quarters, appointed the General Officers their posts, and opened the trenches by two approaches, of which one

\* Morgan's Memoirs.

An. 1658. was carried on by the French, the other by the English. The Viscount did not go to bed for some nights in the beginning, that he might with his own eyes see every thing rightly disposed ; and his nephews the Duke of Bouillon and the Count d'Auvergne, whom he had brought with him, never left him. The first days of the siege the enemy made several sallies, attacked with courage, and were as bravely repulsed. The besiegers had already tore down some of the palisades upon the glacis, seized some traverses in the cover'd way, and were going to make a lodgment upon the counterscarp, before the Spaniards thought of putting themselves on their march to stop the progress of the French arms.

The Spaniards march to relieve Dunkerque.

The news of this siege which came to Brussels about the end of May astonished the enemy : they could scarce believe that the French would venture upon that enterprize, without possessing themselves first of the neighbouring towns ; however they got their forces together, and marched to attack the Viscount in his lines. The general rendezvous was ordered to be at Ypres the tenth of June, and the 13th the Spanish army appeared upon the Downs or sand-hills near Dunkerque, but unprovided with every thing necessary for a battle : the artillery was not arrived, nor the baggage, nor even the tools for throwing up the earth ; there was scarce powder enough for the infantry alone. The Spaniards nevertheless without intrenching themselves, encamped within two canon shot of the French lines : they flattered themselves that their approach would give new spirit to the besieged, and that the Viscount would do as at Valenciennes, where he had seen them seven days together before him without attacking them ; but they did not consider that he was now alone, and had no longer a competitor of a quite opposite character, who frequently thwarted his designs, and broke his measures.

\* As soon as Turenne had notice of the enemy's arrival, he went himself at the head of his own regiment to *reconnoitre* them; Marshal d'Hocquincourt, who was in the Spanish army with the Prince of Condé, coming forward with the advance-guard, was killed upon the spot by a musket ball. The Viscount having observed that the Spaniards had made a bridge over the canal, and not doubting but they intended to attack him in his lines, resolved to prevent them, and give them battle the next day: he commanded the officers to hold themselves ready, and sent a Captain of his regiment to General Lockart to impart to him the reasons of his conduct: Lockart answered the officer, *That he had an entire confidence in the Prince, and when the battle was over it would be time enough to inform himself of his reasons.* As it was to be feared that the besieged would fall out when the lines were deserted, Turenne reinforced the guard of the trenches with several French and English battalions, besides eight squadrons of horse. He then wrapped himself up in his cloak, and laid down upon the sand; they waked him an hour after, bringing to him a page who had been taken the evening before at the viewing of the lines, and had just escaped from the Spanish camp; the young man told the Viscount several particulars of the enemy's situation, and assured him that it would be two or three days before their canon arrived: Turenne made him repeat what he had said about the canon, and then laid down again upon the sand and slept.

In the mean time the Spaniards remained quiet in their camp, suspected nothing of the Viscount's design, and on the evening suffered their parties to go out a foraging. The Duke of York being at supper with the Marquis de Caracena, said to him, that he could not approve an encampment without lines,

\* Mem. de Bussi Rabutin for this year,

An. 1658.  
The Viscount resolves to give the Spaniards battle.

An. 1658. and that if the French did not attack him that night, they would infallibly do it the next day. The Marquis and Dom Estevan de Gamara answered, that they desired nothing more: to which the Duke replied, *I know the Viscount de Turenne very well, you'll have your desire.* Accordingly about five o'clock the very next morning, their advance-guards gave them notice, that the French cavalry were coming out of the lines; the Duke of York and the Prince of Condé advancing as far as the *Vedettes* or horse-centries, perceived the King's cavalry coming forward with some field-pieces, the French infantry on the left, and the English close to the sea. The Duke returned and gave the Spanish Generals advice of it. Dom John very gravely declared, that he believed nothing of the matter, but that the French had an intention to attack and carry off the advance-guard: the Duke assured him that it was not usual to march a great body of men, with artillery at their head, to force a guard. The Prince of Condé arrived that instant, and confirm'd the Duke's report; but notwithstanding this, the Spanish Generals would not stir. Condé heartily provoked at their indolence, turned towards the Duke of Gloucester, and asked him whether he had ever seen a battle won; the Duke answered that he had not; *In half an hour,* replied Condé, *you will see in what manner we shall lose one.* At last the Spanish Generals being no longer able to doubt of Turenne's design, repaired each to his post.

Disposition  
of the Spanish  
army.

Their army consisted of 6000 foot, and 8000 horse: Dom John commanded the right, which extended from a high sand hill, that was nearer to the French army than any of the rest, to the sea; the Dukes of York and Gloucester, Dom Estevan de Gamara, and the Marquis de Caracena were his Lieutenant Generals. The Spaniards were posted upon the high sand hill, next them the regiments of  
the



the King of England, then the Walloons, and last of all the German battalions. The Prince of Condé commanded the left towards the meadows that were watered by the canal of Furnes, and intersected by several ditches; he had made five bridges of boats, in order to a communication between his troops and the Spaniards, and that they might be all drawn up in the same line. His Lieutenant Generals were the Counts de Coligni, Meilles \*, la Suze, Perfan, and the Marquis de Boutteville: the whole infantry amounting to 15 battalions, all in one line, extended from the strand to the meadows; the cavalry in the right wing was in two lines behind the infantry; that of the left wing could not be placed in the same manner. The Prince of Condé drew them up between the sand-hills and the ditches in several lines, according to the ground which in some places would not allow of more than three or four squadrons in front. It was in this situation that the Spaniards perplexed, and uncertain of their fate, waited, without stirring, for the French.

The Viscount's troops, without reckoning those which guarded the baggage and the trenches, amounted to 6000 Horse and 9000 foot: his infantry was in two lines; the first consisted of ten battalions, and 28 squadrons, 14 in the right wing, and 14 in the left, with the canon at their head: the second line consisted of six battalions and twenty squadrons, ten to the right and ten to the left. Four squadrons of Gendarmes supported the infantry, and six squadrons of reserve were posted at a good distance behind the army, that they might be ready to succour the besiegers in case of a sally during the battle. The first line was about a league long, reaching from the sea to the canal of Furnes. As the sand-hills are not steep, but of an easy slope, the two lines in which the battalions and squadrons were

Disposition  
of the French  
army.

\* Frederic de Foix, Comte de Meilles and de Gursan.

An. 1658. drawn up, seemed to be almost quite strait, notwithstanding the unevenness of the ground. Turrenne gave the right wing to the Marquis de Crequi, the left to the Marquis de Castelnau, and the main battle to the Marquis de Gadagne and the Marquis de Bellefond. General Lockart was at this time troubled with a fit of the gravel, Major General Morgan commanded the English, who were posted towards the sea, opposite to the Spaniards. The Count de Ligneville headed the Lorrainers; the Count de Soissons the Suisses, of whom he was Colonel General; the Marquis de la Salle the Gendarmes, and the Marquis de Richelieu the *Corps de reserve*. The Count de Bussi Rabutin performed the office of Master de Camp General of the horse: the Duke of Bouillon and his brother the Count d'Auvergne served, by the Viscount's order, at the head of his regiment, only as volunteers, tho' the High Chamberlain had a regiment of his own. Several frigates from the English fleet drew near the coast, and fired continually upon the Spanish troops. Such was the order of battle on the French side.

The French  
army marches  
and attacks  
the Spaniards.

The two armies not being above a quarter of a league distant from each other, the Viscount began to play his canon upon the enemy: as they had no artillery, they should have come to a close engagement as soon as possible, but they continued in their posts, without stirring, all the time the French army was advancing towards them; it was obliged in passing over the Downs to mount and descend several times, and whenever the canon had reached the tops of those sand-hills, some volleys were given, so that the Spaniards sustained four or five discharges. The French to avoid breaking their ranks in that uneven ground advanced so slow, that they were three hours in going the quarter of a league that was between the two armies. The Viscount by this means had


## Viscount de TURENNE.

had an opportunity of observing more exactly the disposition, strength and countenance of the Spaniards; and there was not a soldier in his army, who remark-  
 ing their perplexed air, did not think and say, that they were beaten. It was eight o'clock in the morning when the French were approached near them; then the Viscount having rectified what disorder the march had occasioned, appeared with that gay, calm air which inspires confidence, and gave the signal for the charge.

The English were the first who attacked: as they were over against the high sand-hill on which the Spaniards were posted, Turenne sent orders to Major General Morgan to drive them thence: at the same time he commanded the Marquis de Crequi to charge the enemy with his right wing, and the Marquis de Castelnau to march along the strand with his left wing, and wheeling to the right, to fall upon them in flank. The English instantly mounted the sand-hill with as much eagerness as proud confidence; the hill grew more steep towards the top; nevertheless they clambered up, the hindmost ranks helping up the foremost, and supporting them with the but-ends of their muskets. The Spaniards defended themselves for some time with their pikes, but were at length driven from their post, routed and put to flight. The Duke of York hastening thither with his guards, rallied the Spaniards, surrounded the Cromwellians, and made several prisoners; not one of them would lay down his arms or ask quarter: the French infantry quickly joined the English on the other side of the sand-hill, and the regiment of Turenne advancing out of the line vigorously charged and broke two Spanish battalions, which fled and carried away with them the cavalry that were to have supported them. In the mean time the Marquis de Castelnau having marched the cavalry of the wing he commanded along the strand,

An. 1658.

The battle of the Downs; the defence of the right wing of the Spaniards.

An. 1658. strand, not only took the enemy in the flank, but  rushed between their first and second line, charged them on all sides, and threw them into great confusion. Those who surrendered were made prisoners, and the rest put to the sword. Hitherto the Viscount had kept in the center of his army, from whence he sent orders and troops as occasion required: he observed from the tops of the sand-hills all that passed, and perceiving that the Marquis de Crequi was pushing on too far, hastened to his assistance. The Marquis had at first made the enemy's left wing give way, and had even pushed it a hundred paces before him; but as he was followed by only four squadrons, the Prince of Condé's troops drove him back to the front of the right wing of the French army.

Defeat of the  
left wing  
commanded  
by the Prince  
of Condé.

\* The Prince who was used to improve his advantages more than any body, would not lose this. Putting himself at the head of a great body of horse, with the General Officers, and all the persons of Quality in his army, he charged the Marquis de Crequi and broke some of his ranks: he had like to have forced his way through the French, penetrated as far as Dunkerque, and succoured the town after having lost the battle: but the Viscount coming that instant to sustain Crequi, led the squadrons of the right wing to the charge himself, caused several battalions to advance, almost entirely surrounded the Prince's troops, and attacking them in front and in the two flanks at the same time, caused so furious a discharge to be made as opened their ranks in many places, where instantly the Count de Buffi enter'd with fresh troops, making a terrible slaughter. Three times the Prince of Condé rallied his broken squadrons, but they being as often routed by the Viscount, were weary of returning to the charge. Condé advanced yet once more against

\* Hist. MSS. de l'Abbé Raguena.



Turenne, and to restore his soldiers courage, exposed his person more than he ought to have done; but all his efforts were ineffectual: his disheartened troops all deserted him except the French Noblemen, who with such a Hero at their head, shunn'd no danger. The Viscount still push'd on with the same vigour; the Prince of Condé had his horse killed under him, but one of his Gentlemen giving him his, he escaped; the Counts de Meilles, Coligni, Boutteville and Romainville, to favour his retreat, sacrificed their own liberty, and were taken prisoners. As this defeat of the enemy's left wing happened almost at the same time with that of their right wing, their whole army immediately retired.

Turenne, without loss of time, sent away the Marquis de Richelieu with the reserve to join the troops before Dunkerque, and enable them the better to withstand any sallies the besiegers might make; and then proceeded to push the Spaniards, who every where quitted their posts. They were driven with sword and pike from the hills to the low grounds, where they might have rallied, but they chose rather to have recourse to the mercy of the French soldiers; who, as also the Lorrainers and other strangers in the victorious army, spared the lives of those who yielded; but the English would give no quarter: the runaways were pursued as far as the gates of Furnes, behind which place they retired. Four thousand of the enemy were taken prisoners, and the rest of their army so dispersed and scattered, that they could scarce get 9000 men together during the remainder of the campaign. The French had very few soldiers kill'd or wounded, and no officer of distinction, except the Marquis de Castelnau, who died soon after of his wounds, with the poor consolation of having been made a Marshal of France, when he was not in a condition to enjoy the honours of that high post. The Viscount after this

An. 1658.

The Viscount pursues his victory.

An. 1658. this glorious day, wrote the following short letter to his Lady: *The enemy came to us, and God be praised they have been defeated; I was pretty busy all day, which has fatigued me; I wish you a good night; I am going to bed.*

Turenne pursued the Spanish army no farther than Furnes; but having rallied his troops, returned the next day to the siege; he set at liberty twelve of the Prince of Condé's guards, and sent them back to him, ordering the rest of the prisoners to be conveyed to different places, and the ammunition taken from the enemy to be brought by the canal of Furnes to the camp before Dunkerque. There every one placed himself again in his former post. The Viscount passed the night on horseback for fear of a surprize, and made the pioneers begin some saps; these were made use of the next day in the approaches, which were carried on with all the confidence and resolution that victory inspires. The besieged, tho' despairing of succour, still defended themselves with the same vigour, and it was three days before the besiegers could make a lodgment upon the counterscarp, the foot of which they had reached before the battle: at length all the outworks being taken, the town surrendered the 24th of June, ten days after the battle, and eighteen from the opening of the trenches; it would have held out longer, if the Marquis de Lède had not been mortally wounded. The King came from Mardyke to Turenne's quarter, where the hostages were given, and the capitulation sign'd: the garrison, which was reduced to 1000 foot and 700 horse, marched out the next day, and was escorted to St. Omer. Louis XIV with all his Court entered triumphantly into Dunkerque; the town, according to the treaty with the English, was put into their possession, and the Viscount two days after marched to Bergues.

The battle of the Downs, and the taking of Dun-<sup>An. 1658.</sup>kerque were exploits so great and so worthy of admiration, that Cardinal Mazarin (if we may believe a \* writer of that time) was fond of having them ascribed to him, and of deriving thence a glory to himself, like that which Cardinal Richelieu acquired by the siege of Rochelle: he discovered this weakness to his favourite the Count de Moret, and commission'd him to negotiate the affair with the Viscount; Moret's instructions were to prevail if possible with Turenne to write a letter, in which he should give the Cardinal the honour of having projected the siege, and formed the plan of the battle; but this agent was to manage the matter dexterously, and rather insinuate the thing than propose it. Moret knowing that dissimulation was the sure way to miscarry in any transaction with Turenne, and being naturally averse to artifice, frankly told him the Cardinal's desire, and assured him, that whatever price he should ask for this complaisance the Cardinal would grant it. The Viscount, without hesitating a moment, answered, that the Cardinal might employ whatever means he thought fit to give the world a high opinion of his military skill, that he would never say a word to hinder it, but that he could not authorise a falsehood by any writing under his hand. How much soever the Cardinal was mortified by this answer, he could not forbear admiring the Viscount's disinterestedness; a greedy politician would have thought it a fine stroke of management, to have secured the advantages of a Minister's favour, by making sport with his vanity: but these low and mercenary arts were unworthy of Turenne †.

Two days after the surrender of Dunkerque, the Viscount marched to besiege Bergues. The first night after opening the trenches, the French took a

The Viscount takes Bergues.

\* Langlade.

† Mem. de Langlade.

redoubt

An. 1658 redoubt which the enemy had made near their counterſcarp; the next Count Schomberg carried all the outworks, and made a lodgment upon the edge of the ditch. The town's people ſeeing ſome canon brought near their gates, ſent to capitulate; their propoſal was agreed to, but it was on condition, that the garrifon conſiſting of 900 men all veterans, ſhould remain priſoners of war. Theſe no ſooner underſtood what was to be their fate, but ſome of them threw themſelves into the moraffes, in order to eſcape that way, and others would have plundered the town, but they were all ſeized and ſent into France by the way of Calais.

The Spaniards divide their army to garrifon their towns.

The Spaniſh army which had retired to Furnes, having advice that Bergues had capitulated, marched to Nieuport; and there immediately held a council to conſider what was beſt to be done. Dom John was of opinion to poſt the army along the canal, and diſpute the paſſage; no body oppoſed this project except the Duke of York, but he remonſtrated againſt it with ſome warmth; he urged to them, that they had not a ſufficient number of foot to defend that poſt againſt a victorious army; that the troops were yet under the impreſſions of their late defeat; that ſhould they be routed a ſecond time, the French would fall upon the great towns, and puſh their conqueſts even to Bruffels; he propoſed therefore the dividing of the troops, and the diſtributing of them into the great towns that were the moſt expoſed, in order to keep the enemy employed in long and laborious ſieges to the end of the campaign; adding, that freſh forces might be got together the next year, and the war renewed with more ſucceſs. His counſel being approved, it was put in execution ſome days after; the Prince of Condé went to Oſtend with a body of troops ſufficient to defend that ſtrong place; the Duke of York and the Marquis de Caracena ſtaid in Nieuport with



2000 foot and 2000 horse; Dom John with some infantry and a considerable body of horse, threw himself into Bruges; and the Prince of Lignes with the rest of the troops marched into Ypres \*.

† Turenne receiving advice that the enemy had deserted Furnes, and had left there only fourscore men in garrison, detached the Marquis de Varenne with 2000 men to besiege the place; he went thither himself four hours after thinly attended, and summoned the city to surrender, threatening the inhabitants to plunder it if they made the least resistance. The Magistrates having opened their gates to him, he sent away the garrison to Nieuport, and returned on the morrow to his army which he had left before Bergues: without staying there so much as one day to rest himself, he marched expeditiously cross the country to Fintelle in his way to Dixmuyde, where he had appointed the Marquis de Crequi, who was at Rosebrugh with a detachment to meet him. One third of the army swam cross the river near fort Kenoque, in order to seize and carry off some cattle that were feeding in the neighbouring meadows. Early next morning the Viscount keeping along the bank of the river Yper, arrived before Dixmuyde; this town which was in the center of the enemy's country had been much neglected, but they had begun ten days before to repair the fortifications of it. The Prince of Condé had stopped there in his way to Ostend; and being sensible that he was not in a condition to defend it, had left there 400 men with orders to abandon it, in case the French crossed the river; so that Turenne had no sooner laid a bridge over the Yper, and sent some troops over it to summon the place, but it surrendered. He was going to pursue his conquests, and push the enemy who durst not keep the field, when the Cardinal sent him word to suspend all further enterprizes till new

Turenne  
seizes Dix-  
muyde, but  
the King's  
illness obliges  
him to sus-  
pend his  
conquests.

3 July.

6 July.

\* Duke of York's Memoirs.

† Turenne's Memoirs.

orders,

An. 1658. orders, because the King was fallen dangerously ill at Calais. The Minister was extremely uneasy and apprehensive for himself, well knowing that he was not beloved by the King's brother then Duke of Anjou, and presumptive Heir of the Crown: in this agitation of mind he sent the Count de Moret to the Viscount with proposals quite different from those he had made him some days before: he begged, he intreated, he implored his friendship, and asked him whether he might depend on him in case the King should die. Turenne, whose constant guide was the good of his country, answered, that if such a misfortune should happen, he would represent to the Duke of Anjou, that it was for the interest of the State to continue the Cardinal in the Ministry. Mazarin was mightily for having him promise to send his troops to maintain his eminence in the post he possessed: but the Viscount did not think proper to enter into any engagement which might be inconsistent with his duty \*.

During the ten days that the alarm about the King's health lasted, Turenne continued near Dixmuyde in almost a total inaction; he only sent the Marquis de Crequi forward to the neighbourhood of Nieuport with a large body of troops. The Spaniards who were beginning to intrench themselves behind a canal half a league from the town, imagining that the King's whole army was coming to give them battle, retired and separated. As they had neither ammunition nor provisions, the Viscount might have attacked them to advantage in that post, and intirely defeated them; but the King's sickness hindered him, and the enemy by that means had time to distribute themselves in the towns according to the Duke of York's advice.

Gravelin besieged.

In the beginning of August the King recovered his health, and returned to Paris. To finish by

\* Mem. de Langlade.

some shining exploit a campaign that had begun so gloriously, Mazarin had sent for Marshal de la Ferté's army from Lorraine; it was already come as far as Lens, in order to join that of the Viscount. The two Generals made a visit to the Minister at Castel, where it was resolved, that la Ferté should attack Gravelin, and that Turenne should cover the siege: the Viscount sent thither seven or eight regiments of foot under the command of Varenne, and staid at Dixmuyde with his army. The trenches were opened at Gravelin fifteen days before the enemy thought of relieving it. They raised 4000 men in Brabant, assembled them near Bergues, and drawing near the Lys, joined the Count de Marfin's troops that were coming from the Dutchy of Luxembourg: they passed by Ypres, and halted at Poperingue, where all their Generals except the Duke of York were present. Turenne then changed the posture of his army, and distributed it into different places. He sent the Marquis de Crequi with a body of troops to Fintelle to make head against the enemy who were advancing towards Rosebrugh; he posted some horse and dragoons in fort Kenoque on the Yper to defend the passage over it; he ordered two brigades of horse which he had left at Mardyke to march to Gravelin as soon as the enemy should draw near it; he retired himself with the rest of his troops under the canon of Dunkerque, from whence all the way to Furnes he posted platoons up and down, but in such wise that these small bodies could all unite in a very little time, and mutually support one another. The army remained in this situation to the end of the siege of Gravelin, which lasted six and twenty days: The French, <sup>30 August.</sup> beside 900 men there kill'd or wounded, lost the Marquis d'Uxelles, the Count de Moret, and the Marquis de Varenne, three faithful friends of the Viscount's.

Y

After

An. 1658.

The Vis-  
count com-  
mands the  
army alone.

After the town was taken, the Spanish army retired to Ypres, and thence along the Lys. Mazarin who had stay'd at Dunkerque during the siege of Gravelin, returned to Court, and left the Viscount the care of finishing the campaign as he pleased. La Ferté set out for France, leaving his troops with Turenne, who sent away two or three regiments of foot to the camp before Hedin, where 20000 men under the command of Marshal Schullenberg were guarding the frontiers, lest the enemy should march that way, in order to remove the war out of their own country. Lockart the Ambassador from England, stay'd at Dunkerque with a strong garrison, and Major General Morgan with 2000 English followed the Viscount.

The Vis-  
count  
marches to  
Thielt, and  
from thence  
to Oudenard,  
which he  
takes.

Turenne having given Count Schomberg seven or eight regiments to cover Dixmuyde, Furnes and Bergues, marched with the army to Thielt, intending to advance on the Lys and the Scheld. By thus leaving the enemy behind him, he hoped to make them jealous of the great towns of Ghent, Bruges and Brussels, and thereby oblige them to march far away from the Lys, that he might fall upon Oudenarde, Menin and Ypres. As soon as he arrived at Thielt, he detached Count Gassion with five or six regiments to Deynse, with instructions to send out parties to Oudenarde to view the condition it was in. He stayed two days at Thielt, and then marched with some squadrons to the castle of Gavre : of 4 or 5000 men of the militia, who were to have been upon the banks of the Scheld to oppose his passing, there appeared but 300 ; and these ran away at his approach. Two hundred French dragoons swam cross the river under the very castle, which so terrified the garrison, that it instantly surrendered. After this the Viscount sent the brigade of Podwitz, and several other regiments of horse over the Scheld, to course up as far as Brussels : these incursions caused

such



such a fright, that the Spanish troops which were near Oudenarde, immediately marched away under the command of Dom Antonio de Cuéva to save the Capital. While the King's troops were at work in making a bridge of boats over the Scheld, the Governor of Oudenarde sent to demand safe-guards: Turenne taking with him 1000 horse and 200 dragoons, marched thither without delay, and threatened to besiege the place if the gates were not opened to him. It was believed at first that the Governor would surrender; but he seeing the small number the Viscount had with him began to fire: upon which orders were instantly sent to all the forces that were at Thielt to advance; they arrived early the next morning, and he made his rounds to take a view of the ground. While he was posting the King's dragoons in a place by which succours might come to the town, three regiments of horse which the Prince of Condé had detach'd under Count Chamilli, came and attack'd the dragoons; but the latter kept their ground, repulsed the enemy, and took Chamilli prisoner with one half of his men. The town was soon after invested, and the trenches opened in three different places, but the besiegers made no lines; in two hours time they approached a half moon, and were upon the point of taking it when the towns-people capitulated; and some regiments which had stolen into the place a little before Turenne invested it were made prisoners of war.

The Viscount was in suspense for some time, whether he should not march to Brussels; but having only a flying camp, without any heavy canon, and provisions but for four days, he chose rather to turn back, march into the neighbourhood of the maritime towns, (whence he might easily draw provisions, those places being abundantly supply'd by means of the sea) and there wait a favourable opportunity to possess himself of Courtrai, Menin, and perhaps

He surprises  
and defeats  
the Prince de  
Lignes near  
Ypres.

An. 1658. Ypres. He left in Oudenard two regiments of horse and 400 foot under the command of Rochepaire, and marching up along the Scheld, made some boats be tow'd after him, as if he intended to besiege Tournai, or penetrate into Brabant: he sent orders at the same time to Gassion, who was at Deynse to draw near; and when he had followed the road to Tournai a pretty while, fell of a sudden upon Menin. Thirty troopers of his guard, whom he had sent to view the condition of the place, brought word that the Prince de Lignes was within a league and a half, with 2000 foot and 1500 horse: this Prince was coming from Ypres, and was to have thrown himself into Tournai immediately upon the Prince of Condé's departure thence to join Dom John near Brussels. Turenne ordered the Count de Roze and the Count de Melun, who were in the van-guard to go and attack the Prince de Lignes. The first troops they met with were those of Droot and Louvigni, which they defeated; and being afterwards assisted by the regiments of the Queen, Rennel, Crequi and la Ferté, which were headed by the Marquis d'Humieres and the Marquis de Gadagne, they pushed the Spaniards to a bridge upon the Lys near Commynes, and entirely routed them: of the whole detachment 600 horse only escaped, 400 of which threw themselves into Ypres with the Prince de Lignes, and 150 got to Lisle. The 2000 foot were cut in pieces, or made prisoners, and all their arms, colours and baggage taken.

He seizes  
Menin, be-  
siegues and  
takes Ypres.

After this defeat, Turenne detached the brigade of Podwitz by the way of Menin (which being half-raised readily opened its gates to him) and St. Lieu by the Ghent-road towards Ypres. The army encamped that night near Menin, where Turenne left 1000 foot and 500 horse, and at day-break marched forward for Ypres, the garrison of which consisted of 700 horse and 1500 foot. When he was come


before the place he assembled all his troops that had An. 1658. been dispersed up and down in Flanders; ordered Count Schomberg to put Bergues, Furnes, and Dixmuyde in a condition of defence and come and join him with the remainder of his troops; and sent to Marshal Schulemberg to bring him a re-inforcement of 3000 men from the camp before Hedin. The beginning of the siege was no more than a blockade for want of instruments to break ground, ammunition and artillery. But Talon, Intendant of the army, going to Dunkerque and Gravelin brought from those places every thing necessary for the siege; so that at length the trenches were opened, and five 26 Septemb. days after the town surrendered. The Viscount granted an honourable capitulation to the Prince de Lignes, who marched out the next day with two pieces of canon, 600 horse and 1200 foot: the enemy had not lost more than three or four hundred men in the siege, but the French had 1200 killed or wounded by reason of the rapidity with which the works were carried on.


Turenne, not to lose time, detached 2000 men the very day of the capitulation, to attack the castle of Commines, and the next day he marched thither himself with the whole army. \* Rutherford, Colonel of the regiment of Scots guards, made himself master of the fort in three days: the next day the army passed the Lys and encamped at Turcoin where it staid five or six days to rest and refresh itself; after which it marched to Epière, and staid there almost four weeks, during which time great diligence was us'd in repairing the fortifications of Menin and Oudenarde. In the beginning of November, Dom John of Austria and the Marquis de Caracena having advice that the King's army intended to decamp, marched to-

He takes  
Gramont  
and Ninove.  
The cam-  
paign ends.

30 Septemb.

\* Rutherford, Earl of Theviot, was the last Colonel of the Scots guards. It appears by father Daniel's history of the French militia that the regiment of Scots guards subsisted in France only from the year 1643 to the year 1662.


An. 1658.  wards Courtray with a body of horse that had been brought from Ghent. Turenne instantly sent Podwitz with 2000 horse to sieze upon Gramont which surrendered, and he himself marched and took Ninove. He had no intention to keep these two places, but only to make use of them while his army should continue in the country for the conveniency of foraging, and in order to straiten Dom John, and Caracena in Brussels, whither they were obliged to return a-new with a body of troops ; he staid in the country all the month of November, consumed the forage, and put all under contribution. The army in the beginning of December re-passed the Lys at Harlebeck, and after the Viscount had thus defeated and dispersed the Spanish army, and put it out of a condition to keep the field, after he had taken twelve towns and subdued the whole country between the Yper, the Lys, and the Scheld, he left 100 troops of horse and 5000 foot in the conquered places, marched back his army into France, and return'd himself to Court.

An. 1659.  The rapid conquests of the Viscount alarmed the Catholick King and contributed to the bringing about a peace between the two Crowns. Spain was in fear, lest the French become masters of the Low-countries, should carry their forces into the heart of that Kingdom, and conquer a country that was undefended by strong towns, in much less time than they had ravaged the wealthy provinces of Flanders which abounds with fortified cities. \* Moreover, the Queen looked upon the recovery of the King's health as a particular blessing from Heaven, and thought herself obliged to show her thankfulness for it by putting a stop to the effusion of Christian blood : she spoke of it with warmth to the Cardinal, and declared to him, that she could not, without acting

The motives  
to a peace  
between  
France and  
Spain.

\* Nani, Hist. de la Republique de Venice, l. 8. Priorato della pace fra le due Corone. Lettres du Cardinal Mazarin.



against all the sentiments of her heart and neglecting An. 1659.  
the true interests of her family and those of France,   
refuse a peace to her brother the King of Spain.  
Nor was this all. Cromwell being dead, the people  
of England, weary of their own frenzy, wished to  
see Charles the second upon the Throne of his an-  
cestors: the Duke of York loved France, and both  
the one and the other were desirous to see a peace be-  
tween the two Kingdoms. Lastly, both in Spain  
and in France the cities were dispeopled, the pro-  
vinces desolate, the treasures consumed, and the peo-  
ple oppressed; every thing seemed to call for a  
peace as the only remedy for those miseries under  
which all Christendom laboured. Nevertheless  
there was a motive different from all these which  
chiefly determined Cardinal Mazarin. He had ne-  
ver entirely dropt the project of marrying the King  
to the Infanta Maria-Theresa, who might be again  
presumptive heiress of the Crown of Spain by the  
death of the young Prince her brother, born since de  
Lyonne's negotiation. In order to bring the Court  
of Madrid into this scheme, he publickly gave out  
that he was going to conclude a marriage between  
the King and the Princess Marguerite of Savoye;  
and in reality he did carry the King in the depth of  
winter to Lyons, and prevailed with the Duchess of  
Savoye to come there with her two daughters. In  
the mean time he sent privately to the Count de  
Fuenfaldagne, to let him know that the time was  
come either to prepare for an irreconcilable war, or  
conclude a peace by the marriage of the Infanta with  
Louis XIV. Fuenfaldagne then Governor of Mi-  
lan dispatched a Courier to Madrid, and the Court  
of Spain sent Pimentel with all diligence to Lyons  
with advantageous proposals: Mazarin accepted  
them, sent the Duchess of Savoy back with her two  
daughters, and the Court returned to Paris.

An. 1659.

The Cardinal had made but a slight sketch of the treaty at Lyons, but Pimentel came in a short time to Paris, and after several conferences with the Minister it was agreed, That the Cardinal on the one side and Dom Louis de Haro on the other, should set out one from Paris the other from Madrid and repair to the isle of Pheasants in the Pyrenees, an island formed by the river of Bidassoa which is of no note but for being the boundary of the two Kingdoms. Two lodges were built in the island exactly alike, and at an equal distance from both was a common hall with two doors over-against one another, by which the two Ministers were to enter at the same time each on his own side, two chairs were also placed over-against one another to prevent all pretence for dispute.

Conference  
in the isle of  
Pheasants.

Shortly after, the two Ministers arrived upon the frontiers, where the Spanish pride would in the decline of its power have disputed for precedence; but the Cardinal knowing that it was contrary to good policy to retard an important negotiation for the sake of a vain ceremonial, was satisfied with equality, to which the two parties tacitly consented. The first conference was in the beginning of August, and in eight or nine meetings all was adjusted. These two Ministers of such different characters, the one stately, inflexible, but frank and open, the other complaisant, supple and full of artifice, exhausted all the strength and subtilty of their Genius's, and in three months time did more than the mediators of all the nations of Europe had been able to effect in almost five years at the treaty of Munster.

The principal  
articles  
of the treaty.

The present treaty consisted of 124 articles, of which the first related to commerce: after which it was stipulated that the most Christian King should marry the most serene Infanta Maria-Theresa eldest daughter of the Catholick King, and should have with her 500,000 gold crowns in portion. After these  
essential

essential articles followed the regulation concerning the restitution of the Conquests made by the contracting powers in Flanders and Catalonia. The King of Spain engaged to pardon the rebellious Catalans and to renounce all pretensions upon Alsace: then what related to the interests of the allies was settled; the Cardinal got the treaty of Querasque confirmed, by which Pignerol was preserved to the French: Spain restored Vercell to the Duke of Savoy; to the Prince of Monaco his demesns which had been invaded; Reggio to the Duke of Modena, and to the Duke of Neubourg the city of Juliers which the House of Austria had for several years past held in sequestration. The Duke of Lorrain had the lot of a Prince whose conduct had been ever unsteady; he was not considered as either friend or foe; he was restored to his dominions, but it was upon condition that he should demolish Nanci, and yield the Duchy of Bar, Moyenvic, Clermont, Stenai, Dun and Jametz to France, and for the future allow a free passage through his dominions to the troops which the most Christian King should send into Alsace. The Cardinal's attempts towards a reconciliation between Spain and Portugal were fruitless, he was obliged to leave the parties free to continue the war, and promise a neutrality on the part of France. The Prince of Condé's affair was the hardest of all to accommodate; the two Ministers grew so warm in this dispute that they were often upon the point of breaking off the conferences, rather than abate any thing of their respective pretensions. The Cardinal nevertheless being sensible of what importance it was to the State, to bring back such a hero as Condé to his allegiance, disposed the King to pardon the Prince on condition that Spain yielded Avênes to France.

\* During these negotiations there was an universal suspension of arms; and the Viscount took that op-

\* Duke of York's Memoirs.

portunity

The Viscount resolves to send his assistance towards the King of England's restoration.

An. 1659. opportunity to do an action worthy his love of justice. He understood that the Royalists in England had since the death of Cromwell taken up arms against the Republicans, the Partizans of Richard, son of the redoubted Usurper, and that the English fleet was in the Baltick ; and finding that the peace with Spain was not only resolved upon but almost concluded, he thought the Restoration of a dethroned King would be equally glorious and advantageous to France. All these considerations join'd with the personal friendship he had for the Duke of York made him give way to his predominant passion for heroick actions. Having obtained the Court's consent he purposed at his own expence to assist the King of England in ascending the Throne of his ancestors : he requested the Duke of York to come to Amiens, and offered him his regiment of foot consisting of 1200 effective men, together with the Scots gendarmes ; ammunition and arms for four or five thousand men ; provisions to subsist them two months ; ships to transport them into England ; passports to embark at Boulogne the troops the Duke had in Flanders, and lastly all his credit for borrowing the necessary sums. The Duke of York having joyfully accepted these offers, Turenne sent him a letter for the King's Lieutenant at Boulogne, who had promised to furnish all the vessels belonging to the ports of his government even to his fishing-smacks. The Duke of Bouillon and the Count d'Auvergne, the Viscount's nephews, were to have accompanied the Duke of York as volunteers, and the very eve of the day fixed for the embarkation was already come, when certain accounts were brought of the defeat of the Royalists ; this made it necessary to suspend for some time the execution of this project.

The Viscount enters into a correspondence with General Monk.

In the mean time the Viscount found means to enter into a correspondence with General Monk, the restorer of the Royal House of Stuart ; and wrote to him the following letter.

SIR,



S I R,

“ THE Gentleman whom I sent into England,  
 “ and whom I desired to make you my  
 “ compliments, has receiv’d so many civilities from  
 “ you that I think myself obliged to return you  
 “ thanks for them. I am glad of this opportunity  
 “ to entreat you would confide in what he says, and  
 “ believe that, having of a long time considered  
 “ your conduct, I have a particular esteem for your  
 “ person ; you may likewise be assured that I will  
 “ contribute all in my power to whatever you shall  
 “ think convenient for you and for the ecclesiastical  
 “ and political State of England, and that I have  
 “ no other intention but to concur with candor and  
 “ openness in every thing that shall be for the good  
 “ of both. If you shall think fit to place an entire  
 “ confidence in me I shall always act so as not to  
 “ give ground for the least suspicion, and those  
 “ who wish the good and tranquillity of their coun-  
 “ try will not find fault with my designs if you ap-  
 “ prove of them ; I believe you will not be displea-  
 “ sed with this compliment and with the assurance I  
 “ give you of my being,

S I R,

Your most humble servant,

TURENNE.

It appears by several other letters to the King of Great-Britain and the Duke of York that the Viscount was in close correspondence with the Royalists in England, and that he contributed more than any other stranger to the happy Restoration of Charles the second. In the mean while the articles of the treaty

The conclu-  
sion of the  
treaty of the  
Pyrenees.

An. 1659. treaty of peace between France and Spain and those of the marriage of the King with the Infanta were concluded and signed the seventh of November: the war, which had lasted almost 24 years between the two Crowns, was now at an end. Alsace, Roussillon, Artois and Flanders, became provinces of France. Mazarin by his negotiations and Turenne by his victories thus executed the principal part of Richelieu's plan, which was to extend the bounds of the French Monarchy.


The end of the FOURTH BOOK.



T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E  
Viscount de TURENNE.

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BOOK the FIFTH.

**T**HE Viscount de Turenne having made such An. 1660.  
dispositions of the troops as the Court had  
ordered, went to wait upon the King, who   
was making a tour through the southern The Vis-  
count is  
made Mar-  
shal of  
France.  
provinces of his Kingdom, till the season should be  
proper for his meeting the Infanta upon the fron-  
tiers \*. The young King, during his stay at Mont-  
pelier, had a mind to reward Turenne for the services  
he had done his country, by honouring him with the  
first dignity in the gift of the Crown †; the Cardi-  
nal Minister acquainted him that the King would wil-  
lingly revive on his account the office of Constable of  
France, if he himself would not put a bar in the way  
by his adherence to the Protestant Religion: but the  
Viscount was not a man to be influenced by the allure-  
ment of honours in a matter wherein his conscience  
was concerned. The King did not esteem him the

\* All the particulars of this book are taken from the Viscount's letters and instructions, the Memoirs of Fremont d'Ablancourt, Abbé Ragueneau's history, the Dutch Mercuries, Puffendorf *de rebus Brandenburgicis*, Walkenier a German author, the Memoirs of the Marquis de la Fare, those of Sir William Temple and several other contemporary authors quoted in the margin.

† See the funeral oration on M. de Turenne, by Mascaron.

An. 1660. less for it, and not being able to confer upon him the office of Constable of France, he created a new one for him which entitled him to the same privileges; it was that of *Marshal General* of the King's camps and armies, by letters patent dated the fifth of April \*.

In a little time after, Louis XIV. left Montpellier and went to S. Jean de Luz, while Philip IV. having set out from Madrid came as far as S. Sebastian. About the beginning of June, the two Kings, attended by the chief Nobility of France and Spain, had a conference in *the island of Pheasants*, and appeared in that desert place with all the pomp that grandeur and luxury displays in the most magnificent Courts and the most flourishing Capitals. On the one side appeared Philip IV. of a venerable aspect and more broken by cares than years; on the other side Louis XIV. in the flower of his age heightened the Royal Dignity by his majestick air. The Queen and the King of Spain her brother, who had not seen one another for five and forty years before, embraced with great tenderness and shed tears of joy: the two Kings likewise embraced, and afterwards presented to each other the principal Lords of their Courts. The Viscount de Turenne not being forward to make his appearance, the Catholick King desired to see him; he looked upon him attentively and could not help saying, *There's a Man who has made me pass many bad nights.*

The two Kings swore to the peace and ratified all that had been concluded by their Ministers. The next day, Philip IV. gave the Infanta to Louis XIV. The celebration of the marriage, which had been performed at Fontarabia by the ministry of the Ambassadors only, was repeated with great magnificence at S. Jean de Luz.

\* See the Authorities at the end No. X<sub>1</sub>



\* Several foreign Princes wrote to the Viscount An. 1659. as they had done at the treaty of Westphalia, congratulating him upon the peace of the Pyrenees, and ascribing it to his success and victories. All Europe reaped advantage from this happy peace : the King of Great Britain was restored to his Kingdom, and the treaty of Oliva gave tranquillity to the Powers of the North ; Portugal alone lost all hopes of quiet. The Dutchess of Braganza the Queen Regent offered to hold her Kingdom as a fief of Castile, and in homage pay annually a million of money, furnish 4000 foot, and eight ships of war : but the King of Spain persuaded that Portugal now she was forsaken by France, could not hold out a single campaign, would not give ear to any accommodation, and flattering himself with the hopes of making a conquest of that Kingdom, made all his forces march thither under the command of Dom Louis de Haro.

The Duke of Braganza King of Portugal being dead four years before, Louisa de Gusman his widow governed the Kingdom during the minority of his sons Dom Alphonso and Dom Pedro. The Queen their mother had naturally a strong inclination for whatever appeared heroick, and had contributed more than any one to the happy revolution of Portugal. † After the King's death she saw herself without alliances, disciplined troops or able Generals : but the superiority of her genius, and the greatness of her courage, continually supplied her with expedients. The weight of affairs did not discourage her, she assumed to her self the whole authority of the Councils, extended her views to all the Courts of Europe from whence she could draw any assistance, and sent Dom Juan d'Acosta Count de Soure to Paris, to treat with Cardinal Mazarin :

The King of Spain sends his troops towards Portugal.

The Viscount advises the King to assist Portugal against Spain.

\* See the Vouchers No. X.

† Vertot's Revolution of Portugal.

An. 1660. The Minister, being unwilling to give umbrage to Spain, applied himself to M. de Turenne, who became the chief Manager in all the negotiations. The revolution of Portugal, which happened 20 years before, had transferred the Crown to the House of Braganza : Turenne, who was ever fond of procuring succour to distressed Princes, and who in this disposition had already stirred himself for the Restoration of Charles II. of England, thought it really for the interest of France to give a helping hand to the firm establishment of Dom Alphonso upon the Throne of Portugal \*. He had with regret seen his progress stopt, when he was just upon the point of finishing the conquest of the Low-Countries, and the King by the peace of the Pyrenees deprived of the fruits of so many victories which had cost such immense treasures ; he was afraid lest this treaty should give Philip IV. an opportunity to recover strength for renewing a war, which would again drain France of men and money, and that the reunion of Portugal to the Crown of Spain would too much increase the power of an enemy that was always to be dreaded. Thus the interests of France were connected with those of the House of Braganza.

The Count de Schomberg is chosen to command in Portugal.

Secrecy being necessary in this negotiation, the Portuguese Ambassador did not appear in publick ; the Viscount made him be conceal'd in a country house of his nephew's the Duke of Albret, afterwards Cardinal de Bouillon : there he had several conferences with the Count de Soure, in order to be informed of the strength of Portugal, the condition of the towns and the troops, and the dispositions of the People and the Ministers. Being thoroughly instructed in every thing relating to the Kingdom, he concluded with Dom Juan d'Acosta a secret treaty, by which the King promised to send

\* The Memoirs of Fremont d'Abancourt.

troops,


troops, money, and even a General, to the assistance of the Portuguese. The Viscount cast his eyes upon the Count de Schomberg to command in this expedition, and proposed him to the Cardinal: this General being a German by birth, and of the Protestant religion, might serve the King of Portugal, without giving just ground of complaint against France. The negotiation was immediately known to the Queen Mother, who said to the Viscount, *Do you know, Monsieur de Turenne, that I can see over Spain into Portugal? but I shall not give my self much trouble about it, for I have done what I desired to do.*

The Count de Schomberg set out for Lisbon with eighty officers, Captains, and Subalterns, and above 400 troopers, all old soldiers capable to form new ones, and to command them; he went over into England, where he waited upon King Charles II. who was newly restored to his Dominions: he had private orders from the Queen Regent of Portugal to find out whether that Protestant Prince would be averse from a marriage with the Infanta her daughter. Spain alarmed at this news offered the King of Great Britain to adopt and give a dowry to the Princess of Orange daughter of Frederick Henry, and cousin german to the Viscount; but Turenne more concerned for the interest of his Country than the glory of his House, pressed the Count de Schomberg to hasten his negotiation. The Count managed matters with so much address, that he brought the King of England to desire the Infanta in marriage; he went afterwards into Portugal, from whence the Queen Regent sent the Marquis de Sande to London to conclude the alliance.

As soon as the Count de Schomberg was arrived at Lisbon, it was resolved in Spain to send against him Dom John of Austria, and to recall Dom Louis

An. 1661.

General  
Schomberg  
arrives in  
Portugal.

An. 1661.  Louis de Haro, who was more a Politician than a General. Schomberg established an exact discipline in the Portuguese army, taught the soldiers the order they ought to observe in their marches, and the art of encamping to advantage. He caused regular fortifications to be made in most of the frontier towns that were without defence; he soon changed the face of affairs, carried on the war with vigor, and was successful almost every where: he continued his correspondence with the Viscount de Turenne, who assisted him with his counsels, and was the soul of all the political negotiations as well as of the military expeditions.

The English  
give up Dun-  
kerque to the  
King.

The Marquis de Sande laboured with so much zeal for the conclusion of the marriage of the Infanta of Portugal with the King of England, that it was soon effected. France had the skill to draw a great advantage from this alliance, and from another match, which was concluded between the Princess Henrietta of England, and Philip Duke of Orleans the King's brother. Charles II. tenderly loved the Princess his sister, and earnestly desired this last marriage: but he had no money to pay a dowry. Louis offered King Charles a very considerable sum on condition he would give up Dunkerque to France; and this affair being transacted with as much diligence as secrecy, was almost as soon concluded as proposed by the Viscount de Turenne, to whom the King of Great Britain and the Duke of York his brother had great obligations, and with whom they always lived in great intimacy. Dunkerque was sold to France for five millions of French Livres, the half of which served to pay the Princess Henrietta's portion.

In a little time after \* Cardinal Mazarin died; having for sixteen years entire managed the affairs of the Kingdom, and shewed himself an able Mi-

\* The ninth of March.



nister. He had appeased the troubles of the Fronde An. 1661. almost without shedding blood, more than once suffered banishment and proscription, without losing any thing of his authority, turned his heaviest misfortunes into means of advancement, and disconcerted the designs of his enemies, tho' they had at their head a Prince of the blood formed to conquer Kingdoms, and a turbulent Prelate capable of destroying them. If the Minister had to his great talents added more piety, disinterestedness and honesty, those who have allowed him the title of a great Politician could not have refused him that of a great man; after his Death Louis XIV. took into his own hands the reins of government, and in all important affairs at home and abroad, frequently consulted the Viscount de Turenne, who knew better than any man the situation, strength and political interest of the Kingdom. Le Tellier, Lionne and Colbert were the King's Counsellors, and the executors of his orders; but it is certain that the Viscount was the chief, and sometimes the only confident of his designs \*.

As soon as the Cardinal was dead, Turenne represented to the King, that the promise Mazarin had made to abandon Portugal, was the effect of weakness, and contrary to justice, to the law of Nations, and the protection which is due to an injured Monarch, and an oppressed people: he then remonstrated to him the necessity of assisting Portugal to preserve its independence upon Spain, and to force the Catholick King to grant an honourable peace to the House of Braganza: and lastly, he made him sensible of the danger France would be in if she suffered Spain to grow powerful again. The King was convinced by the Viscount's reasons, and gave him full power to employ what money he

The King commits the management of the affair of Portugal to the Viscount.

\* See the letters and negotiations between John de Witt Pensioner, and the Plenipotentiaries Van Buningue and Boreel, Vol. 2, 3.

An. 1661. should judge proper for the assistance of the Portuguese.

The Viscount enters into a correspondence with the pensioner de Witt.

The Viscount then applied himself to cultivate a good intelligence between France and the United Provinces, by means of the credit which he had with John de Witt \* Pensioner of Holland. The Pensioner concluded a treaty of commerce with France, by which full liberty was given to the two Nations to trade in each other's ports: by this treaty the French were guaranteed to the Dutch for their fishing upon the English coast †; and the States General guaranteed to his most Christian Majesty the possession of Dunkerque. The Count d'Estrades was afterwards sent Ambassador into Holland, and Turenne drew up his instructions, which shew the perfect knowledge he had of the interests of France \*. Shortly after, the States General enter'd likewise into an alliance with England, and obliged themselves to repair the losses the English had sustained in the East Indies from the ships of the Republick. These two treaties with France and Britain established a perfect peace in Holland, and united those three Powers against Spain, in favour of the House of Braganza.

An. 1662. Louis XIV gave 200,000 crowns to the King of England for the raising of 3000 foot and 1000 horse, and continued to pay the like sum annually for maintaining the troops commanded by the Count de Schomberg: moreover the King promised to raise and pay a French regiment of 1000 foot. To unite the Portuguese more closely with France, a marriage was proposed between the Princess de Montpensier and King Alphonso IV. and the Viscount sent his Secretary Hasslet to negotiate that alliance at Lisbon; he gave him full instructions \*

The Viscount proposes the marriage of the Princess de Montpensier with the King of Portugal.

\* He was a son of one of those eight citizens whom the late Prince of Orange had imprisoned in the castle of Lowestein.

† See the Authorities, No. XII.

\* See the Authorities, No. 13.

with

with a letter of credit to the Count de Schomberg, An. 1662. who proposed the match to the Queen, and she agreed to it : as soon as the Viscount was informed of it, he went to the Princess de Montpensier, in order to sound her inclinations with regard to the marriage ; he made use of arguments, promises, and even threatnings on the King's part to persuade her to it ; but to no purpose : for besides that she had no mind to leave France, she had been informed of the King of Portugal's Character \*, who was of a mean understanding, a fullen and untractable temper, and bad morals. The Queen his mother with grief foresaw that so many ill qualities would make that Prince fall from his Throne, and that he would destroy through his incapacity the work of many years, and lose the fruit of so much labour : she more than once had thoughts of having him shut up, and his brother the Infant Dom Pedro put in his room ; but all her wise projects were disconcerted by the Count de Castel Melhor Alphonso's Minister. The Count made the King be declared Major, took the administration out of the Queen's hands, and possessed himself of the management of affairs.

The Spaniards flattering themselves that they could easily reduce Portugal that was governed by a weak and headstrong Prince, set on foot a considerable army, and Dom John of Austria besieged Evora, which he took in a few days. The Count de Villafior was made General of the Portuguese army ; but all his successes were owing to the valour and prudence of the Count de Schomberg, who gained a compleat victory over the Castilians. This great Captain found it less difficult to defeat the Spaniards, than get the better of the obstinacy of the Portuguese General, who thwarted all his designs, which so disgusted Schomberg, that he was for leaving

The King continues to assist the Portuguese.

\* Vertot's Revol. of Portugal, p. 357.

An. 1662. Portugal: but the Viscount de Turenne sent Fremont d'Ablancourt to Lisbon to promise the General a settlement in France, and supplies of men and money, and to determine him to continue in his office. D'Ablancourt was to stay with him, in order to reunite the Portuguese Lords, to encourage them in their adherence to the House of Braganza, and prevent them from enclining to any accommodation with Spain, by proposing a match betwixt the Princess of Nemours and King Alphonso, whom Gaston's daughter continued to refuse. The Viscount by these means kept the Count de Schomberg and the Court of Portugal steady in their resolutions to maintain the war against Spain.

An. 1663. Philip IV. then turned his thoughts towards England, in order to draw her off from Portugal, and the Viscount persuaded the King to send the Marquis de Ruvigni to London, to keep Charles II. who was wavering and irresolute, steady to his engagements: he drew up new instructions for Ruvigni \*, who executed his commission with address, and brought King Charles to consent to supply the Portuguese with troops and ships; Louis XIV. furnished money. The Count de Schomberg continued in his employment, commanded in chief the French, English and Portuguese troops, and gained several advantages over the Castilians.

An. 1664. † The Court of Portugal desirous to testify its gratitude to the Viscount de Turenne for the many services it had receiv'd from him, sent the Marquis de Sande into France, with full power to treat of a Marriage between Febronie de la Tour d'Auvergne the Viscount's niece and the Infant Dom Pedro the King's brother; and this alliance was so far advanced, that the articles of the contract were signed.

\* See the Authorities, No. 74.

† The Manuscript Memoirs of Fremont d'Ablancourt, to whom that Negotiation was committed.



All these negotiations displeased the Ministers, because affairs were not transacted in the Council, but in private with the King: they were afraid of the influence which Turenne had over his Majesty's mind, and resolved to put an end to his engagements and correspondence with Portugal: and indeed they acted with great warmth against him, and to exasperate and disgust him, contrived to break off the match with the Princess d'Evreux, who was married some years after to Maximilian the Elector of Bavaria's brother. The Viscount shewed no resentment; and being less mindful of the interest of his Family than that of the State, he continued to influence the King to assist Portugal, in order to prevent the reunion of that Kingdom to the Crown of Spain.

In the mean while England and Holland began to quarrel anew; the English Merchants complained to the Parliament of the insults the Dutch had offered them in the East Indies, and on the coasts of Africk. Some time after, the English Captains committed several hostilities in Guinea; the Dutch sent Van Beuningue into France, to demand of the King an effectual mediation, and the guarantry which he had promised. They sent also Ambassadors into Sweden and Denmark, to bring the two Kings of the North into their interests; but all these negotiations were fruitless. War was declared betwixt England and Holland; Charles II. equipp'd a fleet of 107 ships, commanded by his brother the Duke of York; and the Republick opposed to it another of 103 ships. A naval engagement ensued upon the coast of England; the Duke of York defeated the Dutch, and might have made himself master of the sea if he had pursued his victory. After this defeat the King of France was openly press'd to join either the one party or the other: he had recourse to the Viscount de Turenne for advice,

An. 1664.

England declares war against Holland.

An. 1665.

An. 1665. who presented him a memorial \*, wherein he discovers his great judgment, and the extent of his views ; in that memorial he endeavoured to persuade the King to offer his mediation between the two Powers. This advice was followed, but without success ; the war continued between the Republick and England, and each party fitted out new fleets.

The King of Spain's death.

During these hostilities, Philip IV. fell ill, and the King again consulted M. de Turenne what resolutions were proper for him to take †. In a short time after the Catholick King died of a bloody flux, and Louis XIV laid before the Court of Madrid his pretensions to the Low Countries ; he did all in his power to obtain justice by negotiation before he made use of force : as he was afraid lest the union between the English and the Portuguese should determine the latter to make peace with Spain, he sent S. Roumain to the Court of Lisbon, and ordered the Viscount to give him instructions which serve to unfold the whole management and secret of the affairs of Portugal \*.

The King declares for the Dutch against England.

The secret engagements which the English had with Spain, and the efforts they used to bring the Portuguese to make peace with his Catholick Majesty displeasing Louis XIV. and he being sensible that he should stand in need of the friendship of the Dutch, if he carried the war into the Low Countries, yielded at length to Van-Beuningue's powerful solicitations, and declared for the Republick against England ; he gave the Duke of Beaufort Grand Master and Super-intendant General of the Navigation of France all the necessary orders for putting the fleet in a condition to act in the Channel. The English fitted out seventy ships under the command of General Monk Duke of Albemarle,

\* See the Authorities, No. 15.

† See the Authorities, No. 17.

† See the Authorities, No. 16.

and put aboard of them 23000 soldiers and sailors, An. 1665.  
 and near 5000 pieces of canon: The Dutch fleet  
 consisting of more than a hundred sail, carried  
 22000 men, and 4600 pieces of canon. Two bloody  
 engagements were fought in the month of June; but An. 1666.  
 the French fleet could not join the Dutch before either  
 of those two actions. The Duke of Beaufort had  
 stayed in the river of Lisbon, waiting for the Prin-  
 cess of Nemours his niece, who was to be married  
 to the King of Portugal, and whom the Spaniards  
 intended to intercept: hence \* some took occasion  
 to say, that Louis the XIV<sup>th</sup>'s design was to animate  
 the two maritime Powers against each other, that he  
 might raise himself upon their ruins. The upright-  
 ness of the King's intentions may be seen in the Vis-  
 count de Turenne's instructions to the Marquis de  
 Bellefons, who was sent into Holland to agree with  
 the States upon the junction of the two fleets: and  
 indeed the Duke of Beaufort being arrived in the  
 month of July near Brest, had orders to go to the  
 coast of Normandy to join the Dutch, who were  
 advancing to Dunkerque; but the winds hindered his  
 coming up with them; and he was obliged to lye by  
 till the next campaign.

This year died the Viscountess de Turenne, whose  
 virtues cannot be enough admired: though she had  
 several conferences with the Doctors of the Catho-  
 lick Church, yet she continued under the prejudices  
 of her education as long as she lived. The Vis-  
 count was extremely affected with her death; no-  
 thing could equal his grief, but the sincere tender-  
 ness he had for her. The death of the Queen Mo-  
 ther Anne of Austria, which happened at the same  
 time, made the King turn his thoughts in good ear-  
 nest to a war with Spain, and to the making effectual  
 his pretensions to the Low Countries. He from that  
 time considered of the measures proper to be taken

The death  
 of the Vis-  
 countess de  
 Turenne,  
 and of the  
 Queen Mo-  
 ther.

\* See Basnage, annals of the year 1666, p. 773.

against

An. 1666. against the Emperor, and consulted the Viscount, who drew up a memorial, wherein he fully laid open the state of the Empire, the political interests of the Princes of Germany, and the means to hinder Leopold from passing the Rhine \*.

The King makes alliances with several of the Princes of Germany.

The King put in execution the Viscount's advice, and began by threatening with his severest displeasure the Bishop of Munster, who was at war with the United Provinces, if he did not agree to a peace: the Prelate being terrified became pliant, and treated with the Dutch. His Majesty then secured the alliance, or the neutrality of other Princes of Germany, who treated with him or his allies during the course of this year. The Count de Furstemberg was employed on the King's part to negotiate with those Princes, and there are among the Viscount de Turenne's papers several schemes for uniting with France the Elector of Cologne, the Elector of Brandenburgh, the Duke of Neuburgh, the Duke of Lunenburgh, the Count de Valdeck and some others.

An. 1667.

The peace of Breda.

Before the King declared war, he brought the English and Dutch to make peace, with a view to prevent the former from joining Spain, and to put the latter in a condition to assist him. An alternative proposed by the Viscount de Turenne was the ground-work of this peace: that was, either that a general or mutual restitution should be made of all that had been taken during the war, or that each party should keep what they possessed, and that all pretensions should be given up on both sides; this last method was agreed upon as the surest and the most easy: the treaty was concluded and sign'd at Breda the last day of July. After the conclusion of the peace between France, England and Holland, the Viscount advised the King to make a treaty of alliance with the Swedes, and engage them to keep

\* See the Authorities, No. 18.



in the Bishoprick of Bremen 12000 men ready to enter the Empire, if Leopold should declare war against France \*.

The King having thus taken all his precautions with Sweden, England, Holland and Portugal against Spain and the Emperor, began to put in execution the design he had laid of making himself Master of the Low Countries. In the month of March, the troops he had appointed for that expedition, advanced to the frontiers of Champagne and Picardie, under pretence of having as usual great reviews, where the troops encamped as regularly as in time of open war. Towards the end of April the King prepared to take the field, named the general Officers, distributed the money for the artillery and provisions, commanded all the Officers to get ready their equipages, and in short gave all the necessary orders for beginning the war. These preparations put all Europe in commotion: Louis XIV. was accused of aspiring to be universal Monarch, of violating the peace of the Pyrenees, and of intending to rob the King of Spain his brother in law of the Dominions which belonged to him. These reproaches no less unjust than insulting, obliged Louis in the beginning of May to publish a manifesto, printed copies of which were sent all over Europe, particularly to Madrid and Brussels.

The King pretended that by the right of *Devolution*, which takes place in the Low Countries, Cambresis, Burgundy and Luxemburg, all those territories fell to the Queen upon the death of King Philip IV. her father: by virtue of which right the children of the first marriage, male or female, inherit before those of the second. The municipal customs, and the decrees made by the great Council of Mechlin authorise this law; the Dukes of Brabant and Charles V. himself sub-

Preparations  
for war.

The substance of the  
King's Manifesto.

\* See the Authorities, No. 19.

mitted

An. 1667. mitted to it, tho' they had power fufficient to over-rule it. As the Queen of France Mary Therefa was the only remaining child of Philip IV<sup>th</sup>'s first marriage, the King's pretensions feemed to be well founded. \* A cotemporary writer affures us, that this custom of the Low-Countries had not been remarked by any of the French Civilians, and that the Vifcount de Turenne was the first who fpake of it to the King.

The King  
assembles his  
troops upon  
the frontiers.

Louis XIV. before he took the field, made proposals a second time to the Queen Regent of Spain for an accommodation. All his pacifick measures proving fruitless, he said to the Vifcount de Turenne, *That he would march in person at the head of his army, and learn the art of war under him.* The Vifcount gave orders to the troops to advance to the frontiers in several places, from the Meuse to the sea of Calais, yet so as that they could reunite in five or six days.

The King  
leaves Paris,  
puts himself  
at the head  
of his army,  
and takes  
several  
towns.  
May 20.

The King having declared that in the course of the campaign he would follow no other advice but that of the Vifcount Marshal General, set out from Paris, and came to Amiens. Having made the Queen Regent during his absence, and appointed her a Council, in which the Chancellor Seguier and the Marshal d'Estrees presided, he determined that the main body of the army, consisting of 25000 foot and 10000 horse, should attack Flanders in the middle, and that there should be two flying camps upon the sides, the one in Luxembourg, under the Marquis de Crequi, and the other towards the sea, under Marshal d'Aumont; the Duke of Noailles was sent to his government of Rouffillon with some regiments, in order to guard that Province. This disposition of the troops was no sooner made, but the main army had orders to march to Charleroi on the Sambre: on their approach the

\* Mem. MSS. de Fremont d'Ablancourt.

Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo Governor of the Low-<sup>An. 1667.</sup> countries made the fortifications (which were but just finished) to be blown up, and abandoned the place. The King guided by the Viscount de Turenne ordered them to be immediately rebuilt, possessed himself of Binche and Ath two towns situated between the Sambre and Scheld, defeated seven or eight hundred men who designed to throw themselves into Tournai, besieged that town which held out but two days, marched to Douai on the river Scarpe, took the town and its fort in seven days, advanced towards Oudenarde on the Scheld, which surrendered in 24 hours, seized upon Alost on the Denre, and then went and besieged Lisle; during which time the Marshal d'Aumont on his side made himself master of Bergues, Furnes, fort S. Francis, Armentieres and Courtrai.

\* The siege of Lisle appeared so difficult that the Marquis de Louvois would have dissuaded the King from it. <sup>The siege of Lisle is resolved upon.</sup> The Spaniards had taken all methods to fortify that town, it was defended by fourteen Royal Bastions, surrounded with double ditches; the garrison consisted only of 3000 foot and 1200 horse of regular troops, but the inhabitants able to carry arms amounted to 20,000 men. The Governor was an officer of great experience, and there was abundance of ammunition and provisions in the town, so that it was in a condition to make a long and vigorous defence. The King's army was very much diminished by the sieges which it had made and the garrisons it had left in the conquered places. The Count de Marfin who commanded the Spanish troops in Flanders had got together a body of 6000 men in order to throw succours into Lisle, which being large required lines of circumvallation of a great extent. All these obstacles though they were continually exaggerated to the King, could not make

\* Hist. Milit. de Louis le Grand and an account of the war in Flanders by Vandoeuvres in 1667.

An. 1667. him desist from his intention ; he had a mind to finish the campaign by an enterprize, the difficulties whereof would encrease the glory of the success. Having ordered all preparations to be made for this siege he detached the Marquis d'Humieres to invest the place while the Count de Lislebonne and the Count de Lorges blocked up the avenues with the troops of Lorrain.

10 August.  
Lisle taken.

At length the King arrived and set the men to work at the lines of circumvallation ; as they were but ill man'd because of their extent, and as the Spaniards were marching to throw succours into the town, he made the Marquis de Crequi come to the siege with his flying camp. The Count de Croui who was Governor of the town, having burnt the suburbs and taken the oath of the citizens, sent to compliment the King and to desire he would acquaint him on what side he encamped that he might not fire upon his quarters : Louis thanked him for his complaisance and sent him word that his quarters would be throughout all his camp. The besiegers were eight days in making their lines, providing fascines and getting together the necessaries for

19 August.

opening the trenches ; which was done in two different places the night of the eighteenth day of the siege : after five vigorous sallies wherein the besieged were still repulsed and wherein nothing memorable happened, the town surrendered the ninth day from the opening the trenches. The articles of the capitulation having been agreed upon and signed, the garrison marched out the 28th day in the morning to the number of 1700 foot and 800 horse, and were conducted to Ypres. During the siege the King made M. de Turenne accompany him into the trenches and explain to him the reasons of the works : the troops encouraged by the presence of their King and by his example and unwearied application, acted beyond their duty and forced that great town to surrender



render so quickly. The young Monarch made his entry into it the same day that the besieged marched out; he took an oath of fidelity of the magistrates and burghers, and confirm'd their privileges.

The Count de Marfin and the Prince de Lignes, not knowing that the town was taken, were advancing in order to throw succours into it: the King being informed of their march, detached the Marquises de Crequi and Bellefonds with several squadrons, and followed them himself with a great body of cavalry in order to support them: the Prince de Lignes and Marfin hearing of the surrender of the place, retired. The Marquis de Crequi coming up with them, fell upon their rear-guard and entirely defeated it; while the Marquis de Bellefonds, sustained by the King, attacked their army which was likewise routed. In this action there were taken 1500 prisoners, eighteen standards, and five pair of kettle-drums: the King returned soon after to Paris and left the command of the army to the Viscount de Turenne, who prepared to march to Bruffels.

\* The Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo seeing that most of the towns surrendered without any resistance, represented to the States of Holland the interest they had in the preservation of the Low-Countries and the urgent necessity of assisting the Spaniards. The States assembled extraordinarily and sought all means to stop the King's progress without declaring openly against him: gratitude obliged them to support his interests; but it was dangerous to contribute to the destruction of the bulwarks of their country. They secretly levied troops which they distributed on the frontiers, gave orders for fitting out a fleet of forty ships and issued out commissions for arming 25,000 foot under pretence of guarding their country.

*The defeat of the troops which intended to throw themselves into Lisse.*

*The Dutch make preparations by sea and land, and the King of Portugal is married.*

\* See Basnage, annals p. 815.

An. 1667. Moreover to preserve the Government in its republican form, they drew up, in a convention held at the Hague, the *perpetual Edict* against the *Stadtholder-ship*: it was subscribed and sworn to by all that were in publick offices, and even by the Prince of Orange William III; and the States by this oath thought themselves secure of that young Prince, who by the great hopes that were conceived of him gave uneasiness to Pensioner de Witt's faction which governed the Republick. In the mean time Spain terrify'd at the progress of the King's arms in Flanders, sought to make peace with Portugal with a view to employ all her forces in the Low-Countries; France to obstruct the peace, again offered troops to the Portuguese, and concluded a marriage between the Princess d'Aumale and the King of Portugal.

An. 1668.

A triple alliance between England, Holland and Sweden.

On the other hand the King of England, alarm'd at the rapidity of Louis XIV.'s Conquests, sent into Holland Sir William Temple, the ablest politician and the most expert in negotiations of any in Europe, in order to rouse the attention of the States General. Temple propos'd a triple alliance between England, Holland and Sweden, to oblige the two Crowns of France and Spain to make peace: he drew up the plan in one night, and the negotiation was ended in five days: the treaty was agreed to the 23d of January, signed the 7th of February, and ratify'd the 25th of April. The news of this triple alliance astonish'd the King: he complain'd of the English and Dutch who had concealed their proceedings from his Ministers; he could not easily forget what the States General had been doing; and this treaty was the source of those famous wars against the Republick which broke out four years after.

While this alliance was forming, Louis made his troops file off towards Franche-Comté and gave the Prince of Condé the command of them: this was the first mark of favour that the King had conferr'd up-

on him since the civil wars. It was believed, and An. 1668. that not without reason, that it was at the sollicitation of the Marquis de Louvois that the Prince was employ'd: the Minister jealous of the confidence with which the King honoured Turenne, had a mind to set up Condé against him in order to diminish his credit. The Prince felt his martial ardour return when he saw himself at the head of an army, the command of which intimated an oblivion of his past conduct: he assembled his troops, entered Franche-Comté, made himself master of it in ten days and obtained the Government of it for a reward.

In the mean while the Dutch, English and Swedes The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. had sent their Plenipotentiaries to Aix-la-Chapelle to reconcile France and Spain. The King proposed an alternative, and offered peace on condition that he either should be left in possession of all his conquests in the Low-Countries, or that Franche-Comté together with Cambray, Aire and St. Omer should be yielded to him. Spain, one would think, ought to have accepted of the latter of these proposals and yielding to the French a country which lay commodiously for them, kept a very strong barrier for the security of her provinces in Flanders: but she chose rather to leave all the great towns of the Low-Countries exposed to the French who might make themselves masters of them in a single campaign. Castelf-Rodrigo by a finesse in politicks, determined the Court of Madrid to follow this method, hoping that if France should one day yield to the temptation of possessing herself of the rest of the Low-Countries, this excess of ambition would oblige the English and Dutch to assist Spain, unite against France and renew the war: the Dutch saw with uneasiness that resolution and used all their efforts to cross it. While the Spaniards were in suspense how to govern themselves, the King made 100,000 men march to the frontiers; this Army he divided into

A 2

three

An. 1668. three corps ; with one of which he intended to penetrate as far as Bruffels ; the Duke of Orleans at the head of the second was to besiege Ostend, and the Prince of Condé was to enter the Province of Luxembourg with the third. The Republick arm'd on her side to give weight to her mediation, and hired of the Duke of Lunenburg 3000 foot and six regiments of horse. Louis XIV. disssembled his resentment against the States-General till he could draw off the English from their alliance. On the other hand Spain fearing to lose all the Low-Countries, hastened the conclusion of the peace, which was signed the second of May at Aix-la-Chapelle: by this treaty Spain gave up to the King Courtrai, Bergues, Furnes and all the country since called French Flanders, on condition he restored Franche-Comté.

A peace concluded between Portugal and Spain.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was preceded by that of the Court of Lisbon with Spain, which at length acknowledged the independence of the Crown of Portugal. King Alphonso was confined in the isles of the Terceres for his incapacity, his marriage was declared null under pretence of impotence, and the infant Don Pedro was raised to the Throne after marrying the Queen his sister-in-law : thus ended the long wars of Portugal which had lasted almost 30 years : the quarrels between Spain and France for the Low-Countries ceased, and every thing seemed to promise Christendom a long and perfect tranquillity.

The Viscount embraces the Catholick Religion.

The calm which Europe enjoyed after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle allowed the Viscount a great deal of leisure ; he employed it wholly in the study of Religion, which he had long reproached himself for not having thoroughly examin'd. From the time of the peace of the Pyrenees, he had begun to have doubts about Calvinism. The accounts he had frequently had from the English during his intercourse with them, of the multitude of sects that over-spread

Great-



Great-Britain had struck him exceedingly. In one An. 1668. of his letters to the Viscountess de Turenne, \* speak-  
 ing of this diversity of opinions ; *It is evident*, says he, *that by peoples assuming too great a liberty of judging for themselves, though they may have good sense and perhaps devotion, they have so much disfigured Religion that every one forms a sect according to his private opinion.* The progress of his distrust and doubts appears in several other letters, but the high idea he had of the Viscountess's superiority of understanding, and the fear of disturbing in any measure the harmony between them, retained him in his first engagements notwithstanding some sparks he had discerned of a convincing light. It was not till after the death of his Lady, that having nothing to restrain him he consulted his own reason and conversed often with the famous Abbot Bossuet afterwards Bishop of Meaux, whose profound knowledge made him worthy of such a proselyte : 'tis said that it was for his instruction that this Prelate wrote his *Exposition of the Faith*, a book very much admired. However that be, Turenne soon perceived, by his conferences with that great man, that the multitude incapable of reasoning ought to be guided by authority ; that every wise legislator when he publishes a written law must establish a sure interpreter to fix the meaning of it, and that without such subordination, every one would, with the book of the law in his hand, dispute about the sense of it, and interpret it after his own manner. Turenne feeling the force of these truths, and distinguishing between principles and the abuses of them, forms and fundamentals, false devotion and true piety, maintained his heroic character even in Religion : so long as he was not convinced, no human views, no motives of ambition, no temporal interest could prevail with him to change his Religion, but as soon as he saw the truth, he yielded to it,

\* Letter to the Viscountess de Turenne. No. VIII.

An. 1668. sacrificing his reputation to the unjust suspicions of those who accused him of acting from political views unworthy of a great soul. He made his abjuration before the Archbishop of Paris, and, to avoid the ostentation which would have attended that ceremony if his design had been publicly known, he did not acquaint him with it till the evening before he put it in execution.

The Vis-  
count's con-  
duct after his  
conversion.

The Viscount being then persuaded that his conduct and manners ought to be suitable to the purity of his faith, practised all the civil, moral and Christian virtues, discovering his love to God by his charity for men: external forms did not in him supply the place of virtues, he was nevertheless an exact observer of all the ceremonies of publick worship and gave on all occasions remarkable proofs of his piety. Being now a true worshipper in spirit and in truth, he was not contented with changing his way of thinking, he likewise changed his manner of living. Being one day at confession, the Priest asked him if he had not relapsed into a fault which was habitual to him before his conversion; *I have never broke my word to man*, answered the Viscount, *shall I then prevaricate with God?* Being more and more enlightened by faith, and the practice of all Christian virtues, he looked into the invisible world, and considered the great things appointed for man in the ages to come: by degrees objects transform'd themselves, and appeared to him in a different point of view: wars, conquests and the most important affairs which weak human creatures are busied about, seemed to him employments below the grandeur of an immortal Being made for the possession of the infinite Good. He then intended to retire from the world, and devote himself wholly to the contemplation of eternal truths; the King oppos'd his resolution, and Turenne checked the impulses of his piety by a superior piety, and respected the order of God in the will of his

his Master : but he still preserved his love of solitude. An. 1668.  
 Being free from those passions which make men fond of Courts, he spent his time in the society of a small number of chosen friends, whom he scarce ever left but to pay his duty to the King. He was no less to be admired in his private than his publick life; study and conversation were his chief amusements; \* he took delight in men of sound learning and judgment, but despised those fine speakers who endeavour to shine by turns of wit and who talk of every thing without being masters of any thing: he had a taste for works of imagination where the wit was lively and natural, loved to read useful books and discoursed of them with pleasure but without affectation. He kept a constant table, but moderate and frugal: he loved to be gay at meals; he then liked pleasantry, being himself facetious but still with prudence and politeness: few people knew more stories or could tell them better. He thus lived at Paris with great plainness, like a hero of antient Rome who never distinguished himself by outward pomp †.

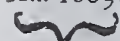
A young country Gentleman who did not know the Viscount, one day, when there was a stop in the streets of Paris, struck his coachman: a tradesman, with a cudgel in his hand, came out of his shop, crying out, *How now, what, treat M. de Turenne's people in this manner!* At that name, the young Gentleman quite out of countenance came to the door of the coach to make his excuse to the Viscount, who said to him, smiling, *You understand very well, Sir, how to correct servants; allow me to send mine to you when they do amiss.* He went frequently a-foot to hear mass, and then took a turn alone upon the rampart of Paris, without his servants or any exterior mark to distinguish him. One day in his walk he passed near a crowd of tradesmen who were playing at

Several admirable passages of the Viscount's life.

\* Mem. de Langlade.

† Manuscript history by the Abbot Raguenet.

An. 1669.



bowls ; and who, without knowing him, called upon him to judge of a cast ; he took his cane, and having measured the distances, gave his opinion : the man whom he had determined against abused him ; the Marshal smiled, and as he was going to measure the ground a second time, several officers who had been seeking him came up and accosted him ; the tradesman was confounded, fell down upon his knees and begged pardon ; the Viscount answered him, *Friend, you was in the wrong to imagine that I would cheat you.* He went sometimes, tho' seldom, to the publick shows. He was one day alone in a box in the play-house when there came in some country Gentlemen, who, not knowing him, would oblige him to give them his seat in the first row : upon his refusing, they had the insolence to throw his hat and gloves upon the stage ; without being moved he desired a young Lord of the first quality to gather them up for him. Those who had insulted him finding who he was, blushed and would have retired, but he stopped them and with a great deal of good humour told them, that *if they would contrive and sit close there was room enough for them all.* Thus this Hero mixed often with the croud but still maintained his character. Coming home one night he fell into the hands of robbers who stooped his coach upon the rampart of Paris : on his promising them 100 Louis d'Ors to let him keep a ring of a great deal less value, they returned it, and one of them had the boldness to go to his house next day and in the midst of a great company to whisper him and demand the performance of his promise : the Viscount ordered the money to be paid him, and before he related the adventure let the robber have time to escape, adding, " That a promise ought to be kept inviolably, and that an honest man should never break his word though given to knaves.



The Viscount, after several years of repose, was obliged to resume his office of General during the wars with Holland, the reasons of which we must here unfold and at the same time lay open the interests of the several powers who then declared for or against the United Provinces.

An. 1670.  
The rise of  
the wars be-  
tween France  
and Holland.

After the independence of the States General had been acknowledged by Spain in the beginning of the last century \*, the Republick of Holland reached the highest pitch of glory and greatness: her people being active and laborious had cultivated commerce in the midst of war: their vessels covered the seas and imported marchandize from both sides of the globe. Amsterdam was become the storehouse of Europe and the richest city in the universe; Holland alone contained three millions of souls and the other Provinces were peopled in proportion. The States General having possessed themselves of several Islands and Kingdoms in the East and West-Indies, had encreased their ships to twelve thousand vessels †. They sent Ministers and Consuls to China, Siam and Bengal, to the Great Mogul, the King of Persia, and the Princes of Africk, to the Levant, the Grand Turk, Moscovie and even Tartary. This prosperity in distant countries might perhaps inspire the Dutch with the ambition of aggrandizing themselves in Europe. This Republick which had raised herself by invariably pursuing the maxims of a perfect prudence, moderation and frugality, was accused, perhaps without ground, of stirring up the people of Germany, England and the Low-Countries to shake off the yoke of Kings, and change the Monarchies into Commonwealths. The triple alliance which the States General had formed gave cause likewise to suspect that they proposed to set bounds to the conquests of Louis XIV. What alarmed the King yet more was the apprehension lest they should


\* April 12. 1609.

† Walkenier. Sir William Temple.

An. 1670. ruin the manufactures of this Kingdom, and the trade of the French in the Indies. The Pensioner de Witt, his brother, and their party did all they could to remove these prejudices, but the unhappy differences which then reigned in the United Provinces, rendered fruitless the endeavours of the two brothers. The Prince of Orange's party not so well affected to France, and the imprudence of Van-Beuninguen the Dutch Ambassador at the King's Court, increased the jealousies and distrusts. It became the wisdom of Louis XIV. to be very watchful of the measures of William II. Prince of Orange, who would naturally neglect nothing for the aggrandizing of his Family and of a Republick founded by his ancestors.

The King  
endeavours  
to break the  
triple alli-  
ance.

After various fruitless negotiations, the King resolved to break with the Dutch, being convinced that the new leagues and alliances they were forming were in reality against him. He sought all means to dissolve the triple alliance and began by endeavouring to draw off from it King Charles II. of Great-Britain. He communicated his secret to the Viscount de Turenne and employed him in the management of that important negotiation. The signal services which this great General had done the House of Stuart both before and after Cromwell's death, had procured him the intimate confidence of the Duchess of Orleans, Charles II's sister. Louis entirely changed his conduct with regard to Henrietta of England, whom he had often treated with indifference, and she in a short time appeared to have great interest at Court. The Viscount saw daily at her house a young Lady of great beauty and of yet greater wit: as she was the Duchess's favourite, he thought it necessary to gain her friendship in order to secure the continuance of that of her mistress. Being sincerely persuaded that he loved only the Lady's wit, he let himself be ensnared by her charms: and

and she forgot nothing that might engage him. An. 1670.  
 Turenne did not distrust the ready services of a   
 young person who seem'd to look upon him rather  
 as her father than a lover : he did not discern the  
 source of his growing affection ; by degrees his sen-  
 timents of friendship changed into the passion of  
 love ; and at length neither the age nor the virtue  
 of this great General were sufficient to secure him  
 against a weakness too common and often fatal to  
 Heroes. His confidence in the Lady increased  
 with his love ; and under pretence of making her  
 useful in his political projects, he discovered to her  
 the secret of the State : she entred into the intrigue,  
 and served as a Mediatrix with the Princess Hen-  
 rietta.

The Duke of Orleans was not well pleased with  
 the great influence he saw the Duchess his wife was  
 gaining over the mind of the King, and suspected  
 that she was carrying on some affair of consequence ;  
 but not being able to guess it, he apply'd himself  
 to the Chevalier de Lorraine his favourite, and em-  
 ployed him to find out the mystery. The Cheva-  
 lier was the most agreeable Prince, and had the most  
 wit of any body at Court ; he attacked the young  
 Marchioness, and she could not resist the pleasure  
 of telling him a secret. The Duke of Orleans broke  
 out in passion against his wife, complained to Louis  
 of the unworthy manner in which he was treated,  
 and let him understand that he knew all that was  
 intended to be concealed from him. The King  
 who had discovered his mind to no body but the  
 Viscount de Turenne and the Marquis de Louvois,  
 being sure of Turenne's discretion, told him that  
 Louvois had revealed his secret. The Viscount al-  
 ways true, and always generous even in the midst  
 of his weaknesses, justified Louvois, and confessed  
 his own fault. This candour charmed the King,  
 and he redoubled his confidence in a man that chose  
 rather

Generous  
 conduct of  
 the Viscount.


An. 1670. rather to discover his own shame than ruin a Minister whom he might well be allowed not to love. Turenne broke off all correspondence with the young Marchioness, would see her no more, and all the rest of his life blushed at the remembrance of that adventure. It is reported that the Chevalier de Lorrain having a mind to talk to him of it some years after; *Let us begin then*, said the Viscount, *by putting out the lights.*

The King  
of England  
departs from  
the triple al-  
liance.


\* The Duchess of Orleans nevertheless still continued her negotiations with her brother the King of Great Britain, and it was thought necessary in order to finish them that she should go over into England. It was of importance to conceal her journey; and the better to cover it, the King gave out that he would go and see his new conquests in Flanders: he set out from St. Germain en Laye about the beginning of May, and taking his Court along with him went to Oudenarde, Courtrai, Lisle, Dunkerque and Gravelines. Henrietta of England made use of the pretence of being so near, to pay a visit to her brothers King Charles and the Duke of York: she embarked at Calais, and arrived at Dover, where she saw the King of Great Britain. Henrietta's negotiation was successful. The King her brother promised to quit the triple alliance, and she came back triumphant to Paris about the middle of June. Having retired to St. Cloud to enjoy the fine season, and for the benefit of her health, she was accompanied thither by the Viscount de Turenne, the Duke of Rochefoucault and several other Lords: she died in a few days after with all the resolution of a Heroine, and the sentiments of a perfect piety. The Court lost by her death a Princess that knew how to distinguish merit and respect it: the Viscount was so much afflict-

\* The Memoirs of Sir William Temple.



ed that he had a mind to retire from the world, but An. 1670.  
 the King hindered him. 

Whilst the Ministers of France were labouring in The King  
seizes upon  
Lorrain.  
 England to draw off Charles II. from his alliance  
 with the Swedes and Dutch, Louis possessed him-  
 self of Lorrain. Duke Charles the 4th always  
 restless and suspicious, had a mind to enter into the  
 triple alliance, and endeavoured by all means to  
 strengthen it by engaging the Princes of Germany  
 in it; being a second time stript of his Dominions,  
 he retired first to Cologne, and then to Frankfort,  
 to wait there for better fortune.

The year 1671 was spent in negotiations with the An. 1671.  
 Emperor, Spain and Sweden, with the Electors of   
 Cologne and Brandenburg, with the Bishop of The disposi-  
tions of the  
Bishop of  
Munster,  
who enters  
into an alli-  
ance with  
France.  
 Munster, and some other German Princes, to hin-  
 der their entring into the triple alliance, or ad-  
 hering to it. Christopher Gaalen Bishop of  
 Munster, a Prelate of a turbulent spirit, ambitious  
 and covetous, saw with uneasiness the successes of the  
 Dutch: and dreading their power he published  
 throughout the Empire, that under pretence of me-  
 diation, justice or protection they had made several u-  
 surpations upon the Counties of Stirum, Culembourg,  
 Bentheim and East-Friseland: that they had seized  
 upon Ravestein on the Meuse, on Borkelo in the  
 County of Zutphen, and some other places in Over-  
 Iffel, which belonged to his Bishoprick; that by  
 fomenting the revolt amongst his subjects, and en-  
 deavouring to force him to disband his troops, they  
 hoped to extend by degrees their authority over the  
 Ecclesiastical Princes of the Roman Communion:  
 nay, pushed on by his animosity, he went so far as to  
 accuse them in his manifestos, as he had already done  
 in his private discourse, of openly aiming at the de-  
 struction of the Monarchical and Catholick States;  
 he proposed a treaty with France, and pressed the  
 Elector of Cologne to join with him.

The

An. 1671.

The Elector  
of Cologne  
likewise joins  
with France.

The Elector of Cologne of the house of Bavaria being weak through age and infirmities, and having applied all his thoughts to devotion and chymistry, entirely neglected the management of affairs, and gave up himself to the councils of Egon de Furstemberg Bishop of Straßburg, and Prince William of Furstemberg his brother : they persuaded him to unite with France, in order to reconquer Rhinberg and the other places usurped from the Electorate of Cologne.

The King  
treats with  
the Emperor  
and Sweden.

The King signed a treaty with those two German Princes, who alone could open to him the gates into Holland upon the Meuse and the Rhine, furnish him with magazines and places of arms, in a country distant from his dominions, and facilitate to him a sure retreat, in case his expedition should not have the success he hoped. The Princes of Furstemberg and the Commander Gremonville the French Minister at Vienna had orders to use all their endeavours to keep the Emperor neutral, who looked upon the Dutch as subjects revolted from Princes of his family, and as irreconcilable enemies of the Catholick Religion. Thus his resentment and his religion conspired to hinder him from taking part with the Dutch ; and the Furstembergs artfully \* making advantage of his dispositions, represented to him, that the power of the Dutch was very great, and their country advantageously situated ; that the French would find a good deal of difficulty in making conquests there ; and that by his refusing to give any assistance to the Dutch, he would oblige them to restore all the places which belonged to the Princes of the Empire. The Emperor suffered himself to be persuaded, and wrote to the Bishop of Straßburg that he approved of the league which the Elector of Cologne and the Bishop of Munster had made, and even he himself, before the end of the year, concluded a secret treaty with France, by which he

\* Basnage and Walkenier.

promised

promised not to assist the States General, provided <sup>An. 1671.</sup> the King did not make any attempt upon the territories of the Empire or Spain. France carried on her negotiations with equal diligence at the Court of Sweden, in order to bring the Council of Charles XI<sup>th</sup>'s Regency to break with Holland, and prevailed so far as to obtain a stipulation, that if the Emperor, or any Prince of the Empire should assist the Republick, the troops of Sweden should enter into the heart of Germany and join the French army, in order to force those Princes to observe the Peace of Westphalia.

Such were the principal views of the Powers in league against Holland, not to destroy but to curb her. The King had a mind to make himself master of all the towns and fortresses on the Meuse, in Brabant and in Flanders, which belonged to the Dutch : The Bishop of Munster wanted to retake all his places in Over-Iffel and Zutphen : the Elector of Cologne, Rhimberg and all the places dependant on his Electorate ; and the King of England designed to possess himself of some Islands in the County of Zealand for the security of his trade.

The only Prince of the Empire, who openly interested himself for the Republick, was Frederick <sup>The dispositions of the</sup> William <sup>Electors of</sup> Elector of Brandenburg. The countries <sup>Branden-</sup> he possess'd, the troops he had on foot, and his <sup>burgh.</sup> Court filled with Princes, Lords and Officers of all Nations, made him employ himself continually in search of means to encrease his glory and power. The Peace of Westphalia had hindred him from extending his Conquests in Germany, and retaking Pomerania from the Swedes : but he had of a long time aspired to be Stadtholder of Holland ; and tho' that office had been suppress'd six years before, yet he flattered himself that he was able to obtain it, to make it perpetual in his family, and to bring the Dutch under his yoke either by force or address.

An. 1671. With this view he connived at their usurpations on the country of Cleves, did not demand the great sums of money that were due to him, let them possess several of his towns, interested himself in their quarrels with their neighbours, rejected the proposals of several Princes of the Empire, and even those of France, and endeavoured by all methods to procure the friendship and confidence of the States General: As soon as they acquainted him by their Envoy with the menaces of France and England, he offered them his assistance, and concluded a treaty with them, whereby he promised to send them an army of 25000 men.

The disposition of Spain.

During this interval, Beverning the Dutch Ambassador at Madrid disconcerted all the projects of France, and engaged the Queen of Spain to furnish money and troops to defend the United Provinces: she soon sent 6000 men, who landed at Ostend, with orders to the Count de Montereil Governour of the Low-Countries to employ them in the service of the Republick. Thus was the face of Europe entirely changed: France and England, who had contributed to the raising and aggrandizing the Republick, were now endeavouring to ruin her: Spain on the contrary, who had been for an age attempting to destroy the Dutch as revolted subjects, was now their chief support.

The situation of the Republick before the war.

The Republick of Holland had been of a long time divided into two factions: the head of one was the young Prince of Orange William the third. His partizans were for re-establishing the Stadtholdership in his person, restoring to his family all its ancient dignities, and rendering the young Prince as powerful as his predecessors. His party feared the greatness of France, and thought that none but William the third could set bounds to Louis XIV<sup>th</sup>'s ambition. The heads of the other faction were the Pensioner John de Witt and his brother Cornelius, great



great Bailiff of Putten: these two brothers lov'd France, and were sensible that the King was abler to protect the Dutch against the English and the Elector of Brandenburg, than either Spain or the Empire, which at bottom were equally their enemies. This latter party had at first the upper hand in the Councils, but contented themselves with sending orders to Pierre de Groot Ambassador in France, to use all his efforts to discover the King's intentions. Groot who excelled in politicks as much as his father did in learning, sent them word that he foresaw a terrible storm, but that the States General might nevertheless dispel it, if they would prevent the King by some submissions, and testify a sincere desire of renewing their alliance with him.

An. 1671.

The Dutch being terrified wrote to the King, endeavouring to appease his wrath; but Louis gave them an answer which left them no room to doubt of his designs. They then thought of nothing but to provide for the security of their Provinces; they caused to be built a very great number of flat bottomed boats mounted with canon, to guard the Scheld, the Meuse, the Vahal, the Iffel and the Rhine, and to shut up all the approaches to their country. They had less to fear by sea, because the Republick was very strong in shipping; her treasuries were filled with money; but she wanted soldiers; four and twenty years of peace had consumed all her old troops, and rendered Holland fitter for trade than war. There were no great things to be expected from the levies that should be made in the United Provinces: raw soldiers were not a fit match for disciplin'd troops. The States dispatched new Couriers to Germany, Spain and Denmark to hasten the arrival of the succours they expected thence.

An. 1672.

Louis XIV caused an army of 100000 men to march towards the Rhine. The Elector of Cologne

The King divides his troops into four corps.

An. 1672. logne opened all the passages through his territories, delivered up Nuys and several other posts to be made magazines of arms, and the Bishop of Munster assembled all his troops in order to enter by Westphalia into the northern Provinces of Holland. Before the opening of the campaign and the declaration of war, the King judged it proper to divide his army into four corps, and at the same time to name the Generals that were to head them. He resolved to command the first in Person with his brother the Duke of Orleans in quality of Generalissimo; the Viscount de Turenne had the next rank after him, and the title of Captain General: the Prince of Condé was to lead the second; the Marshals d'Humieres and Bellefonds were under him: the Marshal de Crequi headed the third; and the fourth was to march into Westphalia, under the conduct of the Duke of Luxembourg, to join the Bishop of Munster's troops. The King, to prevent the contests which might arise on account of rank and precedency in command, ordered, that in case the different armies should happen to join in the absence of the Princes of the blood, the Marshals d'Humieres, Bellefonds and Crequi should follow the orders of the Viscount de Turenne during the expedition.

The Marshals de Crequi, Humieres and Bellefonds refuse to obey.

The three Marshals refused to obey and were banished. The publick saw nothing in the King's order that was not due to the Viscount de Turenne's superior merit; and a very able Magistrate of that time \* made appear, in a letter written to the Marshal de Crequi, that Louis the XIV<sup>th</sup>'s predecessors had often commanded the Marshals of France to obey persons who were not Princes of the Blood. The Marshals continued in banishment six months, and the King would not admit them again into his service, but at the instance of the whole body of the Marshals of France, who declared that their three

\* M. de Caumartin.

disgraced

disgraced companions might and ought to submit \*. An. 1672.

The levies made in the United Provinces, tho' all the militia of the country was armed, were not comparable to the King's army : but when it came to be debated who should command the Dutch troops, the divisions which tore the Republick were greater than ever. The Prince of Orange's partisans proposed the abolition of the *perpetual Edict*, and the raising of that Prince to the dignity of Stadtholder ; the friends of the de Witts opposed it, but they could not prevent his being at least chosen *Captain General* by land, and *High Admiral* as his predecessors had been. † William the third, who was then but two and twenty years of age, was for immediately evacuating many places where the Dutch to no purpose kept garrisons, which, tho' not strong enough separately to resist the enemy, might form a powerful army under one Leader ; but he was not Master to execute this project, and continued for some time General without an army. While he was waiting for the succours expected from Germany, Denmark and other places, he got together fourteen regiments of horse, and seven of foot, gave out commissions for putting all the Provinces in arms, sent the new levies into the strong towns to encrease their garrisons, put all the navy offices in motion, fitted out a fleet of seventy two ships, and entrusted the command of it to the famous Ruyter, who was confirmed in the office of Vice Admiral and Commandant in chief of the naval forces of the Republick. Eight Deputies were chosen to represent the States General in the expeditions ; the first was Cornelius de Witt the Pensioner's brother, who had orders to go aboard the fleet with Ruyter : the seven others followed the Prince of Orange to assist him with their counsels.

\* See the Authorities, No. XX.

† Walkenier.

The Prince of Orange being declared Captain General and High Admiral of Holland assembles his troops.

An. 1672.

The Kings  
of England  
and France  
declare war  
against the  
United Pro-  
vinces.

Many hoped that William the third's new dignity would encline the King of England his uncle to return to the triple alliance: but that expectation was frustrated. Louis XIV. and Charles II. declared war against the States General by Manifestoes of the seventh of April. A month after, the Elector of Cologne and the Bishop of Munster followed the example of those two Kings.

The Dutch  
name their  
General offi-  
cers, and  
make all  
preparations  
for war.

The storm being ready to fall on all sides, the Dutch put themselves in a condition of making a stout defence. As they had but a small number of land forces they waited for the French, and did not go to meet them: their frontiers were, so to speak, thick set with fortresses and fortified towns. The Meuse, the Rhine and the Iffel seemed made on purpose to hinder access to the Country: The Meuse being defended by strong towns situated on its banks, and the Rhine by its rapidity and depth, the Dutch contented themselves with drawing a line along the banks of the Iffel \* from Arnheim to Zutphen. A country bordering upon the sea, enclosed by three rapid and deep rivers, divided by canals, and easy to be overflowed, seemed to them secure from all attacks. The Count de Montereil being persuaded that the French would fall immediately upon Maestricht, put the Spanish and Walloon cavalry into that place, the garrison before consisting of 10000 veterans. The Prince of Orange having got together an army of 25000 men, advanced to the banks of the Iffel, and the Dutch fleet went and lay at the mouth of the Thames to oppose the naval forces of England and France, which amounted to 150 vessels. All Europe was attentive to the first motions of two powerful Kings seconded by the greatest Captains of their age.

\* The Iffel is a branch of the Rhine made formerly by Drusus, of a canal which that Roman dug to fortify his camp: but the water of the Rhine having got into it, by length of time made itself a channel.



Louis accompanied by the Duke of Orleans set out from St. Germain en Laye about the end of April, and came to Charleroi, where his army was encamped along the banks of the Sambre: it was composed of three and twenty companies of gendarmes, life-guards, musqueteers and chevaux legers, two regiments of the French and Swiss guards, six and forty regiments of French infantry, fourteen regiments of foreign infantry, and sixty regiments of light horse or dragoons: they amounted in all to about one hundred and ten thousand fighting men sumptuously cloathed. They were divided into two corps: of the principal, which was called the King's army, and was composed of eighty thousand men, the Duke of Orleans was Generalissimo, and the Viscount de Turenne Captain General: the second commanded by the Prince of Condé, consisted of 30000 men. The Lieutenant Generals in the King's army were the Duke de la Feuillade, the Counts of Soissons, de l'Orge, du Lude and de Chamilli, and the Marquisses of Gadagne and Rochefort: the Major-Generals were the Chevaliers de Lorraine and du Pleffis, du Martinet, de Montal and de Fourille. The Prince of Condé had under him as Lieutenant Generals, the Count de Guiches, and the Marquis of Saint Abre and Foucault †: His Major-Generals were the Counts of Pleffis, Nogent, Magaloti and Choiseul, and the Marquis de Vaubrun.

Holland could not be attacked but by two places, the Rhine and the Meuse. The Generals and the Ministers differed in their sentiments: the former were for besieging Maestricht, in order to be master of the Meuse, enter into Dutch Brabant, hinder the junction of the Spaniards, and make a place of arms of that town. The latter thought that enterprise useless, and of too great an expence, and were for marching towards the Rhine, in order to encourage

*The King resolves to attack the Meuse and the Rhine at the same time.*

† Antony Foucault Lord of Etras,

An. 1672. the allies of France, penetrate into the heart of Holland, and facilitate afterwards the taking of towns upon the Meuse. After several deliberations, the King by Turenne's advice resolved to attack the Meuse and the Rhine at the same time.

The Viscount takes Maseick, and dissuades the King from stopping to besiege Maestricht.

Two days after Louis's arrival at Charleroi, the Viscount marched with an advanced guard of 20000 foot and 2000 dragoons to invest Maseick \*, and make a general magazine there, after enlarging its fortifications. That town, tho' it be one of the dependencies of the Bishoprick of Liege, of which the Elector of Cologne was Sovereign, refused, by the orders of the Chapter of Liege, to open its gates to the Viscount, and the inhabitants put themselves in a posture of defence, tho' they had no garrison. Turenne, after summoning them a second time, caused his batteries to be erected; the Magistrate was obstinate and made the canon of the town to be fired. The besiegers answered them very warmly for a whole day; but the next day the inhabitants being frightened, forced the Burgo-Master to surrender the town. The Viscount having got possession of this important post, ordered seven bastions to be raised there, together with a citadel on this side of the Meuse, and a horn-work on the other side, in order to cut off all communication between the United Provinces and Maestricht, which by this means was rendered useless to the Dutch: he left Chamilli at Maestricht with 4 or 5000 men to take care of the fortifications, and returned with the rest of the troops to rejoin the King, who lay encamped with his army near Viset, four leagues from Maestricht in a great valley along the Meuse on this side the river. The Prince of Condé, who had marched with his army by way of the Ardennes, arrived the nineteenth day in the morning at the Abbey of Robermont, a league and a half from Liege and three

May 15.

\* Walkenier.

leagues from the camp. After dinner the King <sup>An. 1672.</sup> held a Council with the Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Condé and the Viscount de Turenne. \* The Prince a second time proposed to besiege Maestricht before they went any further: but the Viscount again represented that that siege would be long, difficult and dangerous; that it would discourage the army in the beginning of a great expedition; that it would give time to the Dutch to get together all their forces, and to their allies to come to their assistance; and lastly, that the taking of Maseick having cut off all communication between Holland and Maestricht, it was sufficient to block up that town, while in the mean time a secure passage should be opened across the country of Cleves into the United Provinces. The Viscount's opinion prevailed in the Council, and it was resolved to advance towards the Rhine, in order to besiege Vefel, Rhimberg, Orfoi and Burick at the same time. These four towns situated on the banks of the Rhine pretty near one another, all well fortified and defended by good troops, were reckoned the principal entries into Holland. The King's army marched along the Rhine while that of the Prince of Condé passed it at Keiserswart. The Dutch did not seem at first much moved at the King's approach; they hoped that his attempts upon the country of Cleves would engage the Elector of Brandenburg, as the most interested, quickly to take the field; and at the same time stir up the Emperor to oppose Louis's progress in the Empire. They were not much troubled at the taking of towns which did not belong to them, and were only under their protection.

On the first of June the Viscount de Turenne arrived with 12000 men before Burick, the Prince of Condé before Vefel, and the King together with the Duke of Orleans having taken the same rout,

\* The Dutch Mercury, and the Abbot Raguenet's History.

Vefel, Burick, Orfoi and Rhimberg are besieged, and surrender to the King.

An. 1672. advanced the same day \* to the eminence of Holtzein, a small town in the neighbourhood of Nuys. Here the Elector of Cologne came to meet the young King, and held a conference with him about what expeditions his troops should make, while the French Generals, after the reduction of the four towns abovementioned should go and join the army at Munster. The interview lasted some hours, the Elector went to Nuys, and the King continued his march, and encamped between Orsoy and Rhimberg, from whence he could go in person to the sieges of the four towns designed to be attacked. While he was besieging Rhimberg, the Duke of Orleans Orsoy, and the Prince of Condé Vefel, the Viscount de Turenne was employed in reducing Burick. This town is opposite to Vefel and on the other side of the Rhine; its fortifications, which consisted of six bastions and six half moons made of earth, and strengthened with stakes and pallisades, were in pretty good condition, it had provisions and ammunition in abundance, and its Governor † Peckendam was an officer of distinguished merit: but there were only 400 men in garrison, and the place being small, could not furnish many towns-people for the service. The Viscount having finished the lines of circumvallation the first day of the siege, caused a battery to be raised on the banks of the river in order to cut off the communication between the town and Vefel. Peckendam placed a great many lighted matches on the walls in the night time, to make the French believe that they were so many musketeers; but the Viscount who in all this expedition tried to prevail by persuasion before he made use of force, let him know by a trumpet that he was perfectly well informed of the condition of the place, and the number of the soldiers, and that it would be

\* Walkenier.

† Walkenier calls him *Ottar Roda de Heckeren*.



very imprudent to sacrifice the lives of 400 men to defer for a few days a surrendry, which was unavoidable. Peckendam reflected upon this advice, and seeing that he had but ten pieces of canon in a condition to fire, and that the Viscount had pushed his approaches as far as the brink of the ditch which was already half filled up, he beat the chamed with consent of his Council, and delivered up the town to the French. Orsoy surrendered the 3d of June, Burick the 4th, Vesel the 6th, and Rhimberg the 7th.

An. 1672.



The King encouraged by so extraordinary success made his army advance to Vesel, in order to pass the Rhine there, and followed the route of the Prince of Condé who was gone to Emerick, and of the Viscount de Turenne, who arrived the 4th of June in the evening before the town of Rees, which was surrounded by seven great bastions and a strong wall. Wimberguen a man of courage and resolution, and Governor of the place, had a garrison sufficient to defend it: on the other side of the Rhine there was a considerable fort in condition to make a longer resistance than the town it self. Captain Vanderhove with 200 men at first charged the French: but the Viscount de Turenne so terrified him with threatnings, and afterwards gained him by promises, that he made him surrender the fort, even without giving notice of it to the Governor of Rees. Wimberguen hearing no noise of canon or muskets on the other side of the Rhine, sent an Officer with some soldiers to inform themselves of the reason of so sudden a calm, and of a silence which he suspected to import no good: but those soldiers had not gone half way, when the French began to fire upon them from the fort, which obliged them to return and give an account of the matter to the Governor, who seeing that the town was battered by those very canon which had been

The Viscount takes the town and fort of Rees.

An. 1672. designed for its defence, began from that moment to despair of preserving the place: he would nevertheless let the Viscount see that he was brave and faithful to his Masters, and fired at the same time upon the fort and the besiegers: The Governor's resolution shewing that the siege would prove more difficult than that of the four other towns, the Viscount excited by his wonted moderation and clemency had recourse to threatnings, to prevent the effusion of blood: having battered the town a whole day, he sent a trumpet to Wimberguen to summon him to surrender upon reasonable terms, and to tell him, that if he refused he would put all the inhabitants to the sword as soon as he had taken the place. The citizens and magistrates being terrified, sent to the Viscount's camp and offered him the keys of the town: but he out of modesty refused them, being willing to leave all the honours to the King, who arrived next day, and sent the town-deputies to Louvois the Secretary of State to have the capitulation settled: the Minister was not so condescending to them as the Viscount would have been.

June 9th. The articles of surrendery were signed in the King's camp by Louvois and Van Wimberguen, and the town was delivered up the same day.

The town of  
Emerick sur-  
renders to the  
King.

The King's army then marched towards Emerick, the first town in the Duchy of Cleves on the side of the United Provinces. As it was not so well fortified, and had less store of provisions than the other five towns which before surrendered, it submitted: but the garrison not thinking it proper to commit themselves to the discretion of the conqueror, abandoned the place, and retired to Fort Sckenck. The inhabitants immediately presented the keys to the King, who continued to them their privileges, gave them another garrison, and left them their own magistrates and their laws.

The Dutch were more successful at sea ; the 7th of June the English and French fleets commanded by the Duke of York in chief, and under him by the Count d'Etrees Vice-admiral of France, were attacked by the Dutch fleet commanded by Cornelius de Witt Admiral and the brave Ruyter under him. After an engagement, which lasted a whole day near Solibay, on the English coast, night parted them, and victory not having declared for either side each party claimed it.

An. 1672.

A sea fight  
at Solibay.

The King having made himself master of all the towns that were not covered by rivers, thought it proper to enter into the heart of Holland and besiege Nimeguen. The Viscount de Turenne went with his cavalry to view the avenues of the town : but having learnt that the Dutch had thrown succours into it by Betau, and foreseeing that the siege would cost too many men, and retard the progress of the army, he immediately returned to the King, who was encamped near Rees, and advised him to advance towards Betau, and there attempt to pass the Rhine. The Prince of Condé had orders to march with his army and view the banks of the river. The extraordinary dryness of the season had made the waters so low, that the river seemed fordable near the place where the Issel separates from it. An inhabitant of the country called John Paterfon came and told the Prince that there was a ford near the fort of Tolhuys : Condé having made the Count du Guiche sound it, he resolved to pass while the bridge was making. The King being acquainted with his design approved of it, and had a mind to be present at the enterprize : he left the command of his army to the Viscount, set out immediately from Rees with his Household, and arrived in the Prince of Condé's camp at ten at night.

The King  
resolves to  
pass the  
Rhine.The King's  
troops pass  
the Rhine  
by swim-  
ming, and  
the Prince of  
Condé is  
wounded.

The Prince of Orange who was encamped on the banks of the Issel, three leagues from fort Tolhuys, having

An. 1672. having learnt the same day the King's design from the peasants who had seen the river founded, immediately sent General Wurtz a German with two regiments of foot and some squadrons of horse to defend the ford in the room of Montbas \* who had abandoned it. At break of day Wurtz's foot were seen entrenching themselves with great diligence on the other side of the river, and his horse were posted under trees and behind hedges. The King ordered the Count de Guiche to begin the passage at the head of two thousand horse, in the front of which was the regiment of Cuirassiers commanded by the Count de Revel as Colonel, and Langallerie an old officer as Major. As soon as the French troops had put themselves in order of battle along the river, General Wurtz drew up his horse on the other side to defend the approach. The Count de Guiche having ordered his men to loose their horses girths and take off their curbs, that they might swim with greater ease, entered the water preceded by twelve Cuirassiers, and followed by the whole regiment in as good order as if they had walked upon dry land: the King commanded a great discharge of the canon to be made to keep the Dutch at a distance on the other side, while the garrison of Tolhuys fired upon the French who were passing the river. Wurtz's horse advanced into the water to fight, and made a discharge: about twenty of the French were drowned, being either wounded by the enemy's fire, or carried away by the rapidity of the Rhine: but the rest forced their way, gained the bank, drew up in battalia, attacked, repulsed and obliged the Dutch to save themselves in their entrenchments. The King encouraged by this first success permitted his Household to cross the river: the Dukes of Bouillon, Soubize, Vivonne and Coaslin; the Counts of Saulx, Aubeterre, Lionne, Nesle, Beaumont, Beringhen, Nan-

\* A Gentleman of Poictou.



rouillet, Aubuffon and other Voluntiers, threw themselves boldly into the river, and were followed by several squadrons who swam in order of battle: they did not however run so much hazard as the first, because the great number of horses broke the force of the stream. In the mean time the Prince of Condé with his son the Duke of Enguien and his nephew the Duke of Longueville having passed in a boat, put himself at the head of the squadrons, and began to cry at a distance to the enemy's foot that were retired to their post, to lay down their arms and they should have quarter. The Duke of Enguien and the Duke of Longueville, warmed by the former night's wine, advanced imprudently to the enemy; and the latter firing a pistol cried out that there was no quarter. The Dutch immediately made a discharge; the Duke of Longueville was killed, and the Prince of Condé wounded in the wrist: being more concerned at the loss of his nephew than for his wound, he gave orders to attack the enemy, who defended their first post very ill, and retired to a barriere beyond Tolhuys. The Prince notwithstanding his wound, followed them at the head of his troops, and never left the pursuit till the Dutch were entirely scattered.

The bridge was finished, and the rest of the army pass'd it: the Viscount having learnt in the camp at Rees what had happened, went alone in great haste to join the King who ordered him immediately to take upon him the command of the Prince's army. Condé retired to Emerick: the French army soon after entered victorious into Betau, the most fruitful country of the United Provinces; put all the isle \* under contribution and chased General Wurtz out of it notwithstanding the reinforcement that had been sent him. The garrison of Tolhuys abandoned the fort, which had been formerly defended by four soldiers

The Viscount takes the command of the Prince of Condé's army, and enters Betau.

\* It is called the *Ile*, on account of its being surrounded with rivers.

against

An. 1672. against all the efforts of the Spaniards. It had then seventeen commanded by a Serjeant ; that was sufficient for the defence of a place the height and thickness of whose walls rendered it inaccessible : but the soldiers being frightened run away at the approach of the French. Wurtz took refuge near the Prince of Orange with the few men he had left. The Prince fearing lest the French should come upon his rear, abandoned the Issel, led back the army of the States to the innermost part of the country and retired to Rhenen in the Province of Utrecht. The passing the Rhine spread a terror over all Holland, and the consternation reached even the most distant towns.

The rapidity of the King's conquests. The Viscount takes the town of Arnheim.

After the King's army had entered Betau there followed a continued course of new conquests, the rapidity of which astonished and alarmed all Europe. They were informed at the Hague of the taking of towns before they had heard of their being invested or threatned. It is to this day very unaccountable how so many fortresses that were thought impregnable, should make so bad a defence, and that in a country which had been the school of Europe for sieges, most of the places did not hold out longer than 24 hours after opening the trenches. The King marched with his army towards the old Issel and went without resistance and encamped before Doesburg : on the other hand the Viscount de Turenne took Heusden and Isseloort ; and by that means laid open all the country of Betau : the same day he seized the bridge of Arnheim which the citizens had begun to break down in order to put a stop to his progress : he made 150 horse swim a-cross the river to charge the rear of the Dutch who were marching pretty nigh the town : the troopers fell upon the waggons and the baggage, carried off a booty of 25,000 crowns, and took 200 of the enemy prisoners. The Viscount then caused the bridge to be refitted, crossed it the same night with Condé's army and prepared

June 15.

pared to batter in two places the town of Arnheim An. 1672.  
 the capital of Guelderland, the garrison whereof consisted of 2000 men: the next day as he was viewing the place a musquet bullet broke the hoof of his favourite horse which he commonly rode. The inhabitants seeing all the preparations for a siege, prevailed upon the town-council to send a deputation to the Viscount, and the French entered the town on the fourteenth day in the morning before the capitulation was signed.

The next day the Viscount marched towards fort The Vis-  
 Knotsembourg opposite to Nimeguen, attacked the count takes  
 fort the night following and gained the counterscarp: fort Knot-  
 the garrison being resolved to blow up the magazine sembourg.  
 of powder if the counterscarp was taken kept firing all night, which obliged the French to entrench themselves and erect a battery. Vershor Commander in the fort seeing that his soldiers were spent with fatigue, each of them having fired 120 shot, sent by break of day to desire a reinforcement from Welderen the Governor of Nimeguen, who not daring to lessen his garrison pointed the canon of his rampart so directly against the avenues of the fort that he very much incommoded the besiegers: this resistance served only to redouble the ardor of the French who demolished one of the bastions of the fortress with their artillery. The siege in all probability would have continued with the same obstinacy if an unforeseen accident had not fallen out. \* A drummer happening to beat a retreat upon the rampart at a wrong time, the soldiers of the garrison thinking that Vershor seeing the principal bastion taken had ordered the chamade to be beat, ran together with precipitation and cried out *quarter* from the top of the walls. The Commander accompanied by his officers in vain remonstrated that the signal given was only through a mistake in the drummer, he was surrounded by a tumultuous crowd without discipline

\* Walkenier,

An. 1672. or valour, who murmured against their officers and forced them to capitulate. The articles were signed, and this was the first time that the French granted an honourable capitulation: the garrison which consisted of only 150 soldiers had orders to retire to Groningen.

The Viscount takes ten other towns or forts.

After the taking of Knotsembourg, Turenne turned his canon against the town of Nimeguen, and to facilitate the reduction of it sent his nephew the Count de Lorge to make himself master of the town of Tul and the forts of Voorn and St. Andre: while this detachment was employed in reducing those three places, the Viscount caused Nimeguen to be blocked up and went himself to fort Sckenck; he arrived there the sixteenth of June at night, and having immediately made his approaches he summoned it to surrender. This fort had formerly cost the great Henry-Frederick Prince of Orange the Viscount's uncle a seven months siege and a considerable number of brave soldiers. The place was of great importance and very strong by its situation which was between the Rhine and the Wahal; and the garrison consisting of fifty companies in good condition, amounted to 2000 soldiers; but the Governor was a young man without experience, and being moved by the mournful cries of the women, and intimidated by the name of Turenne, he surrendered the place the second day of the siege and the garrison was conducted to Coevorden \*. The young Governor did not long survive his disgrace: the fright at first, and then the remembrance of his misconduct, made so strong an impression in his mind that he died on his march.

The same day that Sckenck surrendered the Viscount detached the Marquis de Rochefort to penetrate further into the country of Welau. Wageningen, Rhenen, Wych and Amersfort immediately

\* Walkenier,



surrendered, and the Marquis advanced without difficulty as far as Naerden: the detachment which the Count de Lorges commanded met with no greater opposition; Thiel, Coulembourg, Buren, and the forts of Voorn and St. Andre in the little Isle of Bommel opened their gates to the Viscount's nephew. As for him, after possessing himself of Genep and Grave which the Dutch had abandoned, he returned to Nimeguen to finish the siege of it.

Never was there a town in a better condition of defence: the strength of the works, the prodigious quantity of ammunition and provisions, the number of fighting men who with the armed citizens amounted to above 8000, the more than ordinary vigilance of the Magistrate, and the valour and reputation of John Welderen the Governor, promised a long and obstinate resistance. The troops which the Viscount had left before the town to keep it blocked up, had battered it with the canon of Knotsembourg and from a battery raised on the banks of the Wahal, but with little success. The citizens animated by the Governor, and resolved to defend their liberty at the expence of their lives, shared with the garrison all the toil of the siege. This resolution obliged the Viscount to attack the place in form. The 20th of June he caused a third battery to be raised, and a great number of bombs and fire works to be thrown, that he might not be obliged to open any trenches and that he might save the lives of the soldiers. The bombs had not all the effect which the Viscount had hoped for: the Magistrates had ordered the citizens, the masons and tilers immediately to repair the mischiefs they did: they had taken all the necessary precautions to extinguish the fire in the beginning or hinder it from spreading; moreover the distance was so great that the greatest part of the bombs could not cross the river; the others destroyed but few houses because the quarter of the town the most exposed

An. 1672.  
The siege of  
Nimeguen.

An. 1672. posed was that of the Catholicks, which the French had orders to spare. The gallant behaviour of the garrison and the citizens made the Viscount conclude that he could do nothing to the purpose at such a distance. Having battered the town ten days he at length resolved to make his army pass the Wahal and shut up the place more closely. In the beginning of July he caused a bridge of boats to be made; all his army crossed the river early in the morning and arrived betimes at an eminence near the town; he ordered all his cavalry to make fascines, and in the evening marched with 4000 foot and 1000 horse to an old abandoned work which was near the Place and which the besieged had not had the precaution to raze: he took possession of it without resistance, and that same night caused two trenches to be cut in order to go to the point of two half moons which covered the rampart. The French made a great lodgment along the parapet of the abandoned work, and erected there a battery of eight pieces of canon: on the sixth day of the siege they passed the ditch, made lodgments in it and set the miners to work at the half moons, although the garrison consisted of 4000 foot and 600 horse all old troops. On the eighth day the besieged desired to come to a capitulation, it was signed on the ninth and the conditions were that the principal officers should be allowed to depart with their equipages and the rest be made prisoners of war.

The King's  
progress and  
the Duke of  
Luxem-  
bourg's.

While the Viscount was thus making himself master of the chief towns of Velau and Betau, the troops of the Bishop of Munster and the Elector of Cologne having joined those commanded by the Duke of Luxembourg, entered by the county of Benthem into Over-Iffel and took Grool, Deventer, Campen, Swoll, Groninghen, and almost all the places of note in that Province: but the Duke did not treat the conquered towns with the same mildness that the

Viscount

Viscount did. The two Prelates, animated by that An. 1672. implacable anger that almost always attends wars undertaken for the sake of Religion, excited Luxembourg to use severity. The King after having reduced the towns of Doesbourg and Zutphen had entered the Province of Utrecht, and detached the Marquis de Rochefort to possess himself of the capital. The Prince of Orange who had weakened his army to reinforce the garrisons of a great many towns, retired towards Utrecht and divided his forces into five corps, to guard the five principal passes which led to the heart of Holland. One of those corps under Prince Maurice of Nassau was at Muiden; another commanded by Count Horn at Sluys; the third under the conduct of General Wurtz at Gorcum; the fourth at Schonhoven was given to the Marquis de Louvigni a Gentleman of Hainault; and the Prince went and posted himself near Bodegrave on the Rhine with the fifth.

The King's army was encamped at Zeist a village two leagues from Utrecht: this town having opened its gates to the conqueror, the detachment commanded by the Marquis of Rochefort had penetrated into the Province of Holland and taken Woerden, Monfort, Amersfort and Naerden, which is but five leagues from Amsterdam. The Dutch could find no expedient to save that capital but by having recourse to an element which had always been the chief defence of the Republick. They pierced their dams, opened their sluices, broke down their bridges, and laid all the country under water: the other towns imitated their example: Holland, Brabant and Dutch-Flanders were one vast sea; the towns rose like Islands in the midst of the waters. In this extremity the people being persuaded that there was no safety for their country but in having the supreme power lodged in one man, obliged the States of Holland and West-friesland to ab-

The Prince  
of Orange is  
declared  
Stadtholder.

An. 1672. *rogate the perpetual and irrevocable edict against the Stadtholderſhip*, and to confer that dignity upon the Prince of Orange, together with thoſe of *Captain-General* and *High-Admiral*, with which they had veſted him only provisionally.

\* The States General ſent Deputies into England to repreſent to King Charles II. that the French had made a greater progreſs in a few days than Spain had done in ſeveral years; that the rapidity of their conqueſts ought to make England apprehenſive left Lewis XIV. after having ſubdued the ſeven United Provinces ſhould think of conquering the other ten. Charles II. ſent the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Arlington into Holland: theſe two Miniſters in divers conferences with the States General at the Hague and with the Prince of Orange at Bodegrave, removed the apprehenſions of the Republick with regard to their Maſter, aſſuring her that he did not intend to let her ſink under the arms of France. After thoſe conferences they repaired to the camp at Zeiſt; the King gave them firſt a publick audience and afterwards had a conference with them in private, wherein they let him underſtand the jealouſy his victories had given his allies; they remonſtrated to him that contrary to the faith of treaties, he had taken ſome towns in the Province of Holland, and ſeemed to have a mind to get poſſeſſion of all for himſelf without regard to the intereſts of England: they deſired that he would penetrate no further into Holland, that he would evacuate the towns he had taken and make the conqueſt of Zealand in order to give it the Engliſh, adding that if he would not come into theſe terms Great-Britain would be obliged to break her alliance with him†. The King made ſerious reflections upon theſe things, and fearing to riſque his glory and

\* Mem. of Sir William Temple.


† This according to Walkenier, was the ſecret of the Engliſh Miniſters embaffy at Zeiſt, which Sir William Temple confeſſes himſelf to be ignorant of.



his conquests by persisting obstinately to advance in a country which the inundation had rendered impassable, he resolved to shew some complaisance for an ally that was become jealous, and to hearken to negotiations, which after so many victories could not but turn to his advantage. Before he left this country he went to Utrecht attended by the Duke of Orleans and all his Court, made a publick entry into that city and was received with the greatest evidences of respect and joy: those of the reformed Religion came of their own accord and gave up the keys of their churches, the cathedral was purified and blessed by Cardinal de Bouillon Great Almoner of France and nephew to the Viscount de Turenne. The King gave the Government of the Province of Utrecht to the Duke of Luxembourg and that of the town to Stoutippe Colonel of the Swiss guards; he made his army decamp from Zeist and set out to return into France through Dutch Brabant. He had in the space of two months conquered the three Provinces of Guelderland, Over-Issel and Utrecht, taken above fifty towns or forts and made 24000 prisoners. The Prince of Condé and Marshal Turenne had immediately after passing the Rhine advised the King not to restore any of the prisoners, to send them all to work at the canal of Languedoc, to raze most of the strong places he should take, and not to keep any but those which should be necessary for the preservation of his conquests. The King seemed to like their advice, but Louvois who was of another opinion prevailed upon him to release all the prisoners for a moderate ransom and to preserve all the fortified places: thus the French army was almost quite exhausted by furnishing above fifty garrisons.

The King arrived the sixteenth of July at Boxtel near Bois-le-Duc, attended by the Deputies from Holland, the English Ambassadors and the Duke of Monmouth natural son to King Charles II. There the

Conditions of peace proposed by the Ministers of France and England to the Republic.

An. 1672.  the two Kings renewed their treaty, and the Ministers digested and drew up the conditions of Peace which their Masters proposed; the King chiefly insisted upon a treaty of commerce for regulating the rights and pretensions of the French and Dutch East and West-India companies; upon the publick exercise of the Catholick Religion in all places belonging to the States General; twenty millions [of livres] for his expences in the war, and that all the places taken on the Meuse on the other side of the Rhine and in the Empire should be given up to him in exchange for the three conquered Provinces. The King of England demanded of the Dutch the loweing of the flag, a million sterling for his expences, a hundred thousand pounds sterling yearly for the right of fishing on the coasts of Great-Britain and Ireland; the Sovereignty of the United Provinces for his nephew the Prince of Orange, or at least the hereditary and unalienable succession to the Offices of *Stadtholder*, *Captain-General* and *High-Admiral*; and a share in all the commerce with the Indies.

The Dutch reject the conditions and demand assistance from the Princes of the Empire.

These conditions appeared so unreasonable to the States, that they thought them proposed purely to be refused and to get a pretence for taking from them the rest of their Provinces. Being animated by the Prince of Orange they resolved to wait in the middle of the waters for assistance from their neighbours; they sent the two Kings proposals to the Princes of Germany and laid before them the deplorable condition of the Republick: the more effectually to move the German Princes to compassion they represented to them that they could not subsist above three months, that the waters which were for a time their security against the approaches of the enemy would not always save them, and that winter coming on the French army might come over the ice and attack them. All the Powers of Germany interested themselves in their cause; some out  
of

of jealousy of France, others out of pity for the Dutch : An. 1672.  
 but of all the Princes who prepared to assist them the  
 Elector of Brandenburg, as the most powerful, the  
 nearest and the most interested, first took the field.

After the King's departure, the Prince of Orange was  
 continually employed in raising recruits, in ransom- A popular  
 commotion  
 against the  
 two de Witts.  
 ing from Louvois the soldiers who were prisoners and  
 who were all delivered up at four crowns per head, and  
 in fortifying his entrenchments and barriers against  
 the French. As his prudence equalled his courage,  
 it was not long before he gained the affections of the  
 people, and stirred them up against the two de Witts  
 who were accused of being in concert with Louis  
 XIV. Those two great men had always loved  
 France, and been sensible from the beginning how  
 dangerous it was to provoke a King whose ancestors  
 had prevented the ruin of the Republick : the Pen-  
 sioner was suspected of having a design to deceive  
 England, to crush the House of Orange, to raise  
 the Province of Holland above the six others, and  
 thus by the assistance of France to procure to himself  
 an absolute authority : an attempt was made on his  
 life in the streets of the Hague at midnight, and he  
 was covered with wounds ; but he defended himself  
 with so much bravery that the assassins could not ac-  
 complish their design.

While the Bishop of Munster and the Elector of The Vis-  
 count takes  
 Creve-Coeur  
 and Bommel.  
 Cologne were continuing to make conquests in the  
 Provinces of Friesland and Groningen, the Viscount  
 de Turenne was extending his on the Wahal and the  
 Meuse. He besieged the town of Creve-Coeur and  
 carried it in a few days ; the day after, he passed  
 into the Isle of Bommel, \* advanced to the town  
 and encamped along the Wahal. The Magistrates  
 and the commanding officer would not obey the first  
 summons, and sent to the Prince of Orange for suc-  
 cour : the Viscount whose favourite maxim was al-

\* Walkenier.

An. 1672. ways to spare the lives of his soldiers and even those of his enemies, when he could make conquest without bloodshed, sent to summon the town a second time and spent two whole days in negotiating; the French being impatient represented to him that in a continued course of victories he had never rewarded the soldiers with any booty, and that it was injurious to the honour of the French arms to make use of persuasion when he could carry a town by force. The Viscount acted from nobler motives; the moderation, clemency, generosity and disinterestedness which he manifested in all his conquests gained him the hearts of his enemies, and it would have rendered the King's conquests more lasting if all the Generals had followed his example. The inhabitants seeing that no succours came, sent deputies to the camp who passed through the battalions and squadrons just ready to march to the assault: the Deputies frightened at the danger went to the head quarters, signed immediately the conditions which the conqueror granted them, and the garrison consisting of five Companies was sent to Gorcum.

The King returns to Paris with the Duke of Orleans and declares the Viscount Generalissimo of his forces.

The day before the surrender of this town, which was the last of the Viscount de Turenne's conquests in the Low-Countries, the King at his camp at Boxtel made him Governor of Guelderland and declared him Generalissimo of his forces. Louis had delayed his departure in hopes of besieging Bois-le-Duc which would have certainly been taken if the weather had continued good: but there fell for five days such a vast quantity of rain that all the morasses about the town were filled with water and the King's camp was almost overflowed, which determined him to set out for Paris with the Duke of Orleans. He left the Duke of Luxembourg in Holland to observe the Prince of Orange's motions, and order'd the Viscount to advance towards Germany to oppose the forces of the Elector of Brandenburg and of the

Em-



Emperor Leopold who was going to declare against France. An. 1672.

As soon as the King was returned to Paris, the troubles and seditions broke out afresh in Holland. The de Witts massacred.  
The Prince of Orange's partizans again stirred up the populace against the de Witts. Several misdemeanors were laid to the Pensioner's charge, but he cleared himself: suborned witnesses accused his brother the Great Bailiff of a design to poison the Prince of Orange. Cornelius was put in prison and treated very barbarously; while he underwent the torture he sung that Ode of Horace which begins *Iustum et tenacem propositi virum*. The Pensioner laid down his office and the Great Bailiff was condemned to perpetual banishment: John de Witt having taken his brother Cornelius out of prison, after the sentence of banishment was pronounced, the people gathered about them and threatened to murder them. Three troops of Count Tilly's horse who were in garrison in the Hague, were going to assist the two brothers, but the States of the Province being assembled, made those troops retire, under pretence of repulsing a number of armed peasants who were coming to pillage and insult the town. This stratagem made it easy for the people to attack the de Witts, and their fury was such that they assassinated them in the streets in open day with unparallel'd cruelty. The Prince of Orange, whose partizans had made him this horrible sacrifice, seem'd touch'd with the unfortunate end of the two illustrious brothers: he made the Pensioner's eulogium, tho' coldly enough, and he ordered the murderers to be prosecuted; but the clemency he shewed them gave cause to suspect that he had countenanced the murder. The real advantages he drew from it did not a little contribute to strengthen the suspicion. Scarce were the de Witts dead when the Magistrates of all the United Provinces declared the young Prince,

An. 1672. as those of Holland and West-Friesland had done some days before, Governor, Admiral, and Captain General ; so that by this event he became master of all the deliberations of the States.

The Emperor and most of the Princes of the Empire unite in favour of Holland.

All Germany was in motion to come and assist the Dutch : the solicitations of Gremonville the Ambassador of France at the Court of Vienna were unsuccessful. The Emperor on the first of August ordered all the members of the Empire to unite for the common security of the Germanick body, and to recal their troops that were in the service of foreign Powers under pain of being put under the *Ban of the Empire*. After this declaration the negotiations of France had no success in the other Courts of Germany: the Count de Vauguyon could gain nothing with the Elector of Brandenburg, who far from hearkening to the King's proposals, concluded in favour of the Republick, a treaty with the Emperor, the King of Denmark, the Duke of Brunswick-Lunenbourg, and the Landgrave of Hesse: the Duke of Vitri had no longer reason to be satisfied with the Elector of Bavaria: the Marquis de Vau-  
 brun found little cause to hope any thing from the Elector of Mentz: the pains the Duke of Wirtemberg was at with the Elector of Treves were without effect, and the Marquis d'Angeau had no better success at the Court of Heidelberg. All were jealous of France; England began to waver, and there was no Power in Europe on which Louis XIV. could rely\*.

The Viscount marches against the Elector of Brandenburg.

The Elector of Brandenburg was advancing in great haste with an army of 25,000 men. Turenne having no mind to allow him time to enter Holland or the country of Cleves, marched against him with only 12,000 men, † several of whom were not very well satisfied with repassing the Rhine to begin a new campaign. The Viscount knowing that want of money was the cause of their murmuring, gave


\* Walkenier,

† Abbé Raguenet.

new evidences of his liberality to the officers, sup- An. 1672.  
 ply'd all their necessities and engaged them to follow him: he went up as high as Vefel, where he caused a bridge to be made over the Rhine; and having furnished that town together with Rees, Emerick and Nuys with provisions and ammunition he passed the river on the tenth of September, and advanced 10 Septemb.  
 with all his troops within sight of Essen in order to enter the country of Marck and observe in person the motions of the enemy. The boldness with which he appeared on the other side the Rhine to dispute the passage of it with two great armies and oppose the united forces of the Empire in the Empire itself, astonished all Germany. He removed the apprehensions of the Germans by writing a circular letter to the Electors, Princes, free-towns and communities of the Empire, declaring to them that the intentions of the King his Master were not to disturb the peace of the Germanick body; that Louis XIV. had made his army pass the Rhine only to oppose the Emperor who was coming to hinder his conquests in Holland; and that he would make his troops retire if the Elector of Brandenburg would give security not to molest the allies of France.


The King having foreseen that the Germans might march into Alsace and fall upon Lorrain, sent the Prince of Condé who was recovered of his wound to Mentz with 18,000 men to be upon the watch on the Rhine towards Alsace. The Prince of Condé being recovered from his wound is sent into Alsace. The Prince and the Viscount thus guarded the higher and lower Rhine, while the Duke of Duras was encamped on the Meuse, being always in readiness to assist the one or the other as occasion required.

The Elector of Brandenburg had set out from Potsdam on the 25th of August in order to put himself at the head of his troops that were got together between Lipstadt and Halberstadt. Four days after, the Imperialists, commanded by the Count de Montecuculli The Elector of Brandenburg's forces join those of the Emperor and the Duke of Lorrain.

An. 1672.  tecuculli and the Duke of Bournonville, set out from Egra ; they consisted of 6000 horse and 12,000 foot, and took the rout of Erford in order to go to the place of rendezvous. The Electoral and Imperial armies to the number of 40,000 men joined in the bishoprick of Hildesheim about the 12th of September ; the 13th of the same month they went to Mulhausen in Turingia, nine leagues from the Weser, with a design to cross the Palatinate and pass the Rhine at Coblantz. The Viscount de Turenne having received a reinforcement of 4000 men, went and posted himself at Mulhem near Cologne and forced the enemy to retire to the neighbourhood of Fridberg at 25 leagues distance from him : he then marched further up the Rhine, and cross'd the Duchy of Berg, and came to Nassau on the river Lohr. The two German armies continued in their camp almost a month, not daring to advance near him ; on the 12th of October the Elector's army went and encamped at Giessen, as did that of the Emperor in Veteravia, both being five leagues distant from Frankfurt, where the Duke of Lorrain's troops joined them. The Viscount repass'd the Rhine at Andernach where he had built a bridge about the end of October ; he there left a body of troops under the command of the Marquis de Vaubrun and went with the rest of his army to take up his quarters in the country of Triers. On his approach the Elector of Triers seemed desirous to preserve a neutrality ; but the Viscount having discovered his secret intrigues at the Court of Vienna, laid his country under contribution ; and the Elector retired to Coblantz, where he soon after received an Imperial garrison : the enemy in vain hoped to pass the Rhine at that place : the Viscount watched that post with so much diligence that they durst not make any attempt there : they then designed to cross the river at the bridge of Mentz, enter the Palatinate and thence march into Alsace ; the

Elector



Elect<sup>r</sup> of Mentz and the Elect<sup>r</sup> Palatin intimidated An. 1672.  
 by the neighbourhood of Turenne refused to grant   
 them a passage, and the Elect<sup>r</sup> of Mentz broke  
 down his bridge which they had intended to seize :  
 they then made useles attempts to cross the Main at  
 Frankfort ; all their hopes being frustrated, they at  
 last resolved in the beginning of November to at-  
 tempt to pass the Rhine at the bridge of Strasburg.  
 The Viscount, who discovered all their designs, in-  
 stantly acquainted the Prince of Condé, who imme-  
 diately sent orders to Lisouet Governor of Brisac  
 to detach a part of his garrison with boats loaded with  
 fireworks to burn the bridge. This order was hap-  
 pily and speedily executed, and the enemy were once  
 more disconcerted : the German Generals then changed  
 their measures and designed to make a last effort at the  
 confluence of the Main and the Rhine : they built a  
 bridge at Flerheim, passed the first river there with  
 their canon and baggage, then went and encamped in  
 the Country of the Landgrave of Darmstadt, and  
 took up their head quarters at Russelheim. The  
 twenty third they finished a bridge of boats at Gus-  
 tavebourg opposite to Veissenau, a canon shot from  
 Mentz, and proposed to pass the river there, to en-  
 ter the Electorate of Triers, and cross the country  
 of Liege, in order to join the Prince of Orange.  
 The 30th of November Turenne indefatigable and  
 present every where, advanced, in order to hinder  
 their passage, from Witlic to Pruyn on the confines  
 of Luxembourg ; so that they were constrained to  
 continue in a ravaged country, tho' very much wea-  
 kened by sickness, scarcity, and useles marches and  
 countermarches.

The Imperial and Electoral armies were thus em-  
 ployed for the space of three whole months in at-  
 tempting to pass the Rhine at Mentz, Coblentz,  
 Strasburg and other strong towns : but the Viscount  
 de Turenne continually put unsurmountable obstacles

The Imper-  
 rial and Elec-  
 toral troops  
 march into  
 Westphalia.

An. 1672. in their way, marched always at their heels, and both hindred them from assisting the Dutch, and making a diversion in Alsace: in thus wandering up and down the Electorates of Mentz, Triers and the Palatinate, they entirely ruined those countries. The three Electors sent heavy complaints to Vienna and Ratisbonne of the German troops breaking their faith, who under pretence of preserving the Empire, were labouring for its destruction, while the French did it no manner of damage. The united Armies seeing that they were like to draw upon themselves the resentment of the three Electors, resolved to abandon those ravaged countries, and seek their winter quarters in Westphalia in the territories of the Bishop of Munster and the Elector of Cologne. About the middle of December they passed the Main by break of day, marched through the country of Darmstadt, and went and encamped at Weslar, where they left 4000 men: then they took three different routs in order to enter Westphalia, one by Herbron in the territories of Nassau, another by Frankenberg in the country of Hesse, and the third between those two towns: on their march they attempted to take Fridberg; but the citizens and peasants hindered them. As they had a mind to spare the lands belonging to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel for fear of offending him, they were obliged to fetch a great compass through difficult ways, where they lost near 4000 horse. About the end of December, the Elector of Brandenburg, the Duke of Lorrain, the Duke of Bournonville and the Count de Montecuculli arrived on the frontiers of Westphalia; the Elector of Cologne and the Bishop of Munster to save their lands in that Circle, were obliged to send thither their principal forces under the Marquis de Renne. The Viscount de Turenne designing likewise to bring his army there advanced to Vesel about the end of December, and

and wrote to Court of the resolution he had taken. An. 1673.

The King being more than satisfied that the Viscount with 16000 men had hindered two armies of 40000 from passing the Rhine, and coming to assist the Dutch, had already ordered him to put his troops in winter quarters in Alsace and Lorrain. As the Court had not heard that he had obeyed, Louvois wrote to him in two different letters \*, “ That it was to be feared lest the Rhine should freeze and hinder him from repassing it ; “ that he would endanger his army in a bad season, “ purely to push the Elector of Brandenburg perhaps ten leagues further ; that the King being “ unwilling to have his troops longer in the field, “ positively commanded him to put them into winter quarters, and expected to hear by the first courier that they were retired.” Before the receipt of those letters the Viscount had already wrote to the Minister, “ † That it would be prejudicial to the “ King’s service to repass the Rhine so soon ; that “ since the march of the Imperialists towards Westphalia the Bishop of Munster was very much “ discouraged ; that the Count de Montecuculli “ was using all his efforts to engage him in the Emperor’s party ; and that if the enemy was not “ hindered from ravaging that Prelate’s territories, “ he would certainly put himself under the protection of the Empire.

The King orders the Viscount to go into winter quarters, and not cross the Rhine.

The Viscount no less skilled in negotiations than in war, went to the Bishop of Munster at the castle of Ortembourg seven or eight leagues from Vefel, to confirm him in his alliance with the King, and promised to deliver him soon from the enemy’s troops : he then went and joined his army at Vefel, and advanced towards the country of Marck. The Elector of Brandenburg, to leave remarkable

The Viscount keeps the Bishop of Munster steady to his alliance with France.

\* These letters are dated the 17th and 22d of January 1673, at S. Germain en Laye.

† The Viscount’s letter.

An. 1673. proofs of his resentment against the two Prelates, laid their territories under contribution, gave up all to the fury and the licentiousness of his soldiers, and reduced the inhabitants of the country to the greatest misery. The troops of Brandenburg afterwards invested the town of Werle, which was in the Duchy of Westphalia, and belonged to the Elector of Cologne. The fifth January 5th. of January Major General Spaen went and besieged the town with 6000 men; but it made a vigorous resistance, and obstinately refused to surrender: then the Elector went himself with a reinforcement of 4000 men. The Marquis de Rennel came to its relief, and obliged the Elector to raise the siege; this Prince returned to Billefeldt and General Spaen to Lipstadt; Rennel followed the latter, attacked his rear-guard, and took several prisoners. After the raising of the siege, the Elector detached a strong party of horse and foot to surprize the troops of Munster and Cologne: but that corps falling into an ambuscade was almost all cut in pieces, and the remainder was carried to Varendorp.

The Elector of Brandenburg besieges Soest, and the Viscount takes Unna.

Towards the end of January, the Count de Montecuculli being ill at Paderborn, asked leave to return to Vienna. During his illness the Elector of Brandenburg consulted at Lipstadt with the Dukes of Lorraine and Bournonville, about what measures ought to be taken to hinder the King's army from joining that of the two Prelates: after several conferences, wherein they could come to no determination, they set out from Lipstadt the last of January, and marched towards Marck: their army was reduced to 20000 men, by reason of the garisons which they had left in different places, and the losses they had sustained in several attacks. The Elector seeing himself yet at the head of a considerable corps with thirty pieces of canon, and a good number of brave officers, advanced towards Soest, where he arrived the 4th of February; he was informed



formed the next day that the French army had An. 1673. joined that of Munster and Cologne, and that the Viscount de Turenne, whom he imagined to be on the banks of the Rhine, had laid siege to the town of Unna, which had 1000 soldiers in garrison: the Elector detached 5000 horse and foot to succour it. The battalions of the French and Swiss guards offered to force the place sword in hand in presence of the enemy: the Viscount being unwilling to expose his soldiers at a time when he had need to be sparing of them, attacked Unna in common form; he ordered it to be bombarded with five mortar pieces, caused a battery of eight canon to be erected, made a great breach in the walls, and got ready a mine which was to be sprung the next day. Then Febr. 5th. Colonel Remsfort, who commanded in the town, surrendered, notwithstanding the Elector's order, and the garrison were made prisoners.

The Elector of Brandenburg failing in all his projects, made some troops which he had about The Viscount takes several other towns in Westphalia. Ham advance towards Soest, where he lay encamped. The garrison of Ham seeing themselves abandoned, retired the next day, and endeavoured to join the main body of the army: the Viscount without resistance took possession of the town which was strong and well peopled, then made himself master of Kamen and Altena, almost without besieging them, took above 2000 prisoners of the garrisons which he found in the several places, and without any other loss than that of two officers and a few soldiers, at length drew near Soest. As there was in his way a castle on the Lippe called Berkembaum, defended by 200 men for the security of the bridge, the Viscount detached a hundred men of the King's regiment, to make themselves masters of it, under the Marquis de Bourlemont, who carried it at the first assault. The enemy returned that same night in greater numbers, to endeavour to retake that important post; all

An. 1673. all their efforts were useleſs; they returned the next day to the number of 600 horſe and 800 foot; but Bourlemont ſuſtained their attack with ſo much bravery, that he killed near a hundred men, and forced the reſt to retire \*. The Viſcount then advanced to Soeſt, where the Imperial and Electoral armies were encamped, with a deſign to give them battle. The Count de Montecuculli was ſtill ſick at Paderborn, and the Duke of Bournonville commanded in his room; the Elector deliberated whether it was proper to come to an engagement; but as the Germans were afraid of paſſing a great deſile which was betwixt them and the French army, they thought fit to decamp and abandon part of their artillery and baggage. The Viſcount then marched to Soeſt, a large, fine and well fortified town, he entered it the 25th of February, and took up his quarters at Weſtbonne two leagues from the town: the ſame day the Count de Montecuculli ſet out from Paderborn to return to Vienna. People were ſurprized that this great General, during the whole campaign would never hazard a battle; ſome pretended that Prince Lobcowitz the Emperor's Miniſter had counterfeited the Imperial Seal, in order to forbid Montecuculli to fight. The Miniſter was afraid of engaging his Maſter in a war at a diſtance, while the Ottoman Port on another hand threatned to invade the Hereditary Dominions. Lobcowitz was diſgraced and baniſhed; but being recalled in a little time after, that clemency ſhewed that Leopold was really undetermined, and did not abſolutely condemn his Miniſter's conduct. A little after Montecuculli's departure, the Imperial and Electoral armies being chaſed out of the County of Marck, repaſſed the river Lippe; the troops of Brandenburgh retired into the County of Ravensberg, and the Imperialiſts into that of Lippe.

\* A letter from the Viſcount de Turenne, to the Marquis de Louvois.

The Viscount resolved to pursue them, drive them out of Westphalia, and make himself master of all the towns the Elector had there. It was a very severe season, and the French were obliged to go over steep mountains, and pass through very narrow defiles: while the army was marching through one of those defiles, the Viscount, exhausted with watching and fatigue, laid himself down to sleep behind a bush; some soldiers seeing that the snow fell very fast, immediately cut some branches of trees, and made round him a hut, which they covered with their cloaks: he awak'd while they were thus busied in defending him from the injuries of the weather, and asked them what they were amusing themselves with, when they should be marching: *We have a mind*, said they, *to preserve our father; this is our grand affair; if we should lose him, who would lead us back again to our own country?* Turenne forced the passes where the enemy had left troops, possessed himself of Ravensberg, Herword, Bilefeldt, and all the places belonging to the Elector in Westphalia, except Lipstadt and Minden, which the troops of Munster and Cologne had orders to block up. In the mean time the weather was excessive cold, and the ground was so frozen, that trenches could not be opened before the towns that were besieged: the troops were exposed without shelter to the fire of the musketry, and canon of the besieged. Not a man complained; the Viscount was present every where, and supported the soldiers under their fatigue by sharing in it. The two armies of the enemy; pursued and chased from post to post, quitted Westphalia, repass'd the Weser with precipitation, and went into the Bishoprick of Hildesheim. In passing the river some of the Emperor's troops finding themselves mixed with the Elector's, would cross over first for fear of being exposed to the

An. 1673.  
The enemy  
repas'd the  
Weser, and  
quit West-  
phalia.

An. 1673. French: the dispute grew warm, they came to blows, and the quarrel might have had very bad consequences, if some of the General Officers had not come and put an end to it. The name of TURRENE was become so formidable to the two armies, that they fled at his approach, and thought nothing impossible to his soldiers, tho' fewer in number than theirs. The Viscount one day sent forty dragoons to view the country about Paderborn; they forced a passage where there was a regiment of Imperial Cuirassiers, killed fifteen or sixteen of them, put the rest to flight, enter'd their quarters, set them on fire, and retired without losing a man.

The Elector of Brandenburg retires to his dominions.

In the beginning of March the Viscount advanced through the Bishoprick of Paderborn to the town of Hoxter, where there was a bridge of stone over the Wesel. He took possession of the town, drove out the garrison which the Elector had left there, and caused two other bridges to be built in order to make himself master of the river, and pursue the enemy into the Bishoprick of Hildesheim. The Imperial and Electoral armies having already ruined the country, could not subsist any longer, and designed to extend themselves in Lower Saxony, in the territories of the neighbouring Princes: but the Dukes of Brunswick, Lunenburgh-Zell and Wolfenbittel, fearing to draw the War into their country, defended the entrance into it with an army of 12000 men. Then the two armies of the enemy having neither expedients nor courage left, separated: the Emperor's troops retired about the end of March into Franconia and those of Brandenburg into the principality of Halberstadt. The Elector repassed the Elbe at Magdeburgh, and took refuge in Berlin his Capital. The Viscount seeing that the Imperialists still fled before him, and that there was no enemy to fight, returned into the country of Marck, fixed his head quarters at Soest, and gave up all the


Elector's



Electors territories in Westphalia to the discretion of his troops: they found there abundance of provisions, put all under contribution, and enriched themselves. An. 1673.

The Viscount was the only man who did not make advantage of the spoils of the enemy, and evidenced in the whole of this famous expedition a disinterestedness as great as his valour. A General Officer one day proposed to him a method of gaining four hundred thousand livres in fifteen days, in such a manner that the Court could never have come to the knowledge of it; he answered him with a noble simplicity: *I am very much obliged to you; but as I have often had opportunities of the like nature, without having ever made advantage of them, I think I ought not to alter my conduct at these years.* Near the same place, and about the same time, the inhabitants of a great town offered him 100000 crowns, if he would go out of his road, and not march with his troops through their town, he answered them, *As your town is not in the way by which I intended to lead the army, I cannot take the money you offer me.*

The Viscount being at so great a distance could not send couriers regularly into France, and the Court was some time without hearing any news of him: then the enemies of his glory began to declaim against him, and gave out every where that he had suffered himself to be shut up, and that the King's army was lost by his entangling them unadvisedly in a country without towns or magazines. All the courtiers murmured; the King himself, who was very cautious of blaming those whom the publick exclaimed against, one day with an air of uneasiness, let fall these words; *I have no news of the Viscount de Turenne.* It was not long before he heard from him, and was informed that having driven the Elector of Brandenburg from the Rhine to the Elbe, he had obliged him to take refuge in his Capital:


An. 1673.  pital: detraction was silenced, and the Viscount's enemies were confounded.

The Elector  
of Branden-  
burgh makes  
peace with  
France.

The Elector of Brandenburg not thinking himself safe enough even in Berlin, sent to the Viscount the Marquis d'Espense Beauveau who served under him, to desire a peace: Turenne dispatched a courier to the King, who sent him a full power to treat with the Elector. It was agreed that Louis XIV. should withdraw his troops from the territories of Brandenburg; that he should restore to the Elector Wesel, and the other towns in dependence on the country of Cleves, which had been retained many years by the States General; that the Elector should forsake the alliance of Holland, and renounce all the engagements he had entered into against the interests of France; that he should continue neuter for the time to come, and engage the Duke of Neubourg to be security for his fidelity. The treaty was signed the tenth of April, and ratified about the end of May.

Then the Viscount made the Bishop of Munster give up all the places belonging to the Elector of Brandenburg, and went himself out of Westphalia, crossed the Principality of Berg, entered the County of Nassau, and penetrated into the heart of Germany. Being indefatigable at the head of his troops who followed him with joy, he proposed to them as to his companions and children, not to give themselves any respite to enter into Franconia, the Country of Turingia, and that of Gotha, in order to drive away the Emperor's troops, who had a mind to return to the Rhine. The Imperialists fearing to be intercepted, and obliged to fight, got into Bohemia with all expedition; and the Viscount in the beginning of June continuing his rout through the Country of Hesse and the County of Waldeck, went and encamped at Wetzlar near Frankfort, along

June 6.

along the river Lohn, there to wait the result of An. 1673.  
the deliberations of the Court of Vienna. 

While the Viscount de Turenne was thus em- The Prince of Condé be-  
ployed on the Rhine, the Prince of Condé marched sieges Bois-  
to Utrecht to preserve and extend the King's con- le-duc, and  
quests there; but the inundations stopt him every the King  
where. He endeavoured in vain to draw off the Maestricht.  
waters; a distemper which seized him determined  
him to leave Holland, and repass the Meuse, in  
order to besiege Bois-le-duc. In the beginning of  
the campaign the King entred Brabant at the head  
of 40000 men, invested Maestricht the tenth of  
June, and took it in thirteen days after opening the  
trenches. Having repaired its fortifications, he de- June 29th.  
signed to make himself master of other towns: but  
the Dutch having opened their sluices drowned all  
the country from Bois-le-duc to Bergen-op-zoom.  
Louis changed his resolution, marched to the fron-  
tiers of the Empire with a part of his army, and left  
the other consisting of 20000 men with the Prince  
of Condé to keep an eye on Flanders.

Spain alarmed at the extraordinary success of France, The Empe-  
and knowing that if the King should once make him- ror and Spain  
self master of the seven United Provinces, he would unite with  
soon get possession of the other ten, awakened the Holland  
Emperor's attention, and vigorously solicited him against  
to join with her to oppose Louis XIVth's progress. France.  
The Emperor and Spain concluded a treaty with the  
Dutch at the Hague, by which Leopold promised  
the States General to make a diversion on the Rhine  
with a powerful army: Philip engaged to declare  
war against Louis XIV. and the States General  
were to make no peace with France till the Catho-  
lick King was put in possession of all that his most  
Christian Majesty had taken in the Low Countries  
since the peace of the Pyrenees. The Emperor got  
together in Bohemia an army of 30000 men, the  
command of which he gave to the Count de Monte- August 26

An. 1673. cuculli, who decamped from Egra, and advanced towards Franconia. The Viscount de Turenne having joined his troops to those of Cologne and Munster, left Wetzlar, passed the Main at Selingenstat with an army of 20000 men, and posted himself opposite to Aschaffembourg in the Electorate of Mentz : \* from thence he sent the Marquis de Pierrefitte to take possession of Fridberg, and drive out the Imperialists who had settled there in the spring. This expedition opened to the French army an entrance into the territory of Frankfort : the Viscount however had no design upon that town ; his intention was to make himself master of the course of the Main, to march along the higher Palatinate, and facilitate his joining the Elector of Bavaria, who had given some hopes of favouring the King's arms on the frontiers. The Court of Vienna being attentive to the Elector's secret proceedings, had taken all necessary precautions to hinder him from joining the Viscount. A letter was intercepted from the Duke of Bavaria, wherein he told the French General, that the passes and defiles were so beset with the Emperor's troops, that he did not think it prudent to attempt the intended junction : this disappointment obliged Turenne to alter his measures. In the middle of September he left Aschaffembourg, and endeavoured to make himself master of the passages of the Main.

The Prince of Orange deceives the Duke of Luxembourg, and takes Narden.

In the mean time the face of affairs was entirely changed in Holland : after the Prince of Condé had repassed the Meuse, the French had no forces in the heart of the United Provinces sufficient for any enterprize. The Prince of Orange judging this a proper time to act, made some troops file off secretly towards Amsterdam and Muyden, lined with infantry the entrenchments which secured the passage into the Province of Holland ; and to keep the Duke of

\* Walkenier.



Luxembourg, who commanded in Utrecht, from <sup>An. 1673.</sup> suspecting any thing, sent some troops by sea and by the Wahal to attack Bommel. The Duke not penetrating into the Prince's design, came to Tiel with 5000 men to succour Bommeland Grave. The Prince of Orange seeing that his stratagem had succeeded, marched towards Naerden, invested the place with an army of 25000 men, before the Duke of Luxembourg had leisure to provide for its security. The town surrendered, and no less rejoicings were made in Holland for the taking of Naerden than had been in France three months before for the reduction of Maestricht. This conquest encouraged the States General, and from that time fortune continued to favour them. The horrors of war were removed from the innermost parts of the United Provinces to the Spanish Netherlands.

The Count de Montecuculli soon arrived in France, where the troops of that circle and those of the Elector of Saxony and the Duke of Lorrain having joined him, his army amounted to 40000 men: he advanced towards Nuremberg, from whence he might either march towards the upper or lower Rhine, in order to invade Alsace, or go and join the Prince of Orange in Holland. Turenne having made himself master of all the passes on the Main, except that of Wurtzburg, whose Bishop had promised to observe a neutrality, Montecuculli could neither go into Holland nor Alsace without beating the French army. The Viscount waited for him some time about Aschaffembourg; but seeing his slowness, he went to meet him in order to offer him battle, passed the Tauber at Mariendal, advanced to Rotting, and drew near to the Imperialists who were encamped nigh Rottembourg. The infantry of the Viscount's first line was commanded by the Marquis de S. Abre, Foucault was at the head of the cavalry in the right wing, and the Count de

The Viscount advances to the Count de Montecuculli, and obliges him to retire.

An. 1673. Guiche on the Left. The Count de Lude and the Chevalier du Pleffis commanded the other line. Montecuculli could not decamp without hazarding the defeat of his rear-guard ; but being more apprehensive of a general action, he resolved to retire. To conceal his design, he marched up as if he had a mind to fight, which induced the Viscount de Turenne to draw up his army in battalia : Montecuculli took the advantage of that moment, and while he seemed to be making a great stir to put his first line in order, he made his second file off with all its equipage behind a neighbouring mountain. Scarce was the French army drawn up, when they saw the Imperialists first line file off as the second had done : the whole army thus retired in good order, and gained a place surrounded with mountains and morasses between Ochsenfort and Wurtzbourg. The Viscount immediately followed the Imperialists, attacked their rear, and took some of their baggage and ammunition ; and not being able to bring them to an engagement, he encamped about three o'clock in the afternoon, on a very high ground in their neighbourhood, at a monastery of the Carthusians called *Tengelhausen* ; so that the enemy were still in the same circumstances, and could neither go towards Holland by the Main, he being master of it, nor towards Alsace, without exposing their flank. He had the river on his left, tho' a little too far off, a deep hollow way on his right, and behind him a rich and fertile country, from whence he might get provisions in abundance for two months.

The Count  
de Montecu-  
culli gains  
the Bishop of  
Wurtzbourg.

Turenne continued fifteen days in this situation, during which time nothing considerable happened, except some light skirmishes between detachments from the two armies. The French General's chief view was to dispute with the Imperialists the passage of the Main, and in case they attempted it, to fall upon their rear : Montecuculli principally applied himself

himself to intercept the provisions which came to the French from Frankfort in order to oblige them to decamp from so advantageous a post. This project was soon favoured by an event which had like to have brought the French army into a terrible perplexity. The Count de Montecuculli gained the Bishop of Wurtzbourg, who broke his word to the French, received an Imperial garrison into his town and delivered up its bridge to the enemy. The German General caused his canon and heavy baggage to be carried immediately thither, and became master of the Main from Wurtzbourg to Wertheim, from whence he carried off an immense quantity of provisions which the inhabitants had got together for the use of the French army; this obliged the Viscount to abandon his post near Ochsenfort and go down the Main, still coasting the enemy to hinder them from passing it.

In the beginning of October Montecuculli decamped in order to extend his quarters in the County of Reineck from the Lohr to Frammersbach, behind the forest of Speshardt, where he stop'd, still keeping the river Main between the Viscount and him. The third of the same month he detached General Sporck with 6000 horse towards Aschaffembourg. The Viscount thinking that their design was to get possession of the town, detached 4000 foot and 2000 horse under the conduct of Count de Guiche to cover it; which obliged Sporck to change his rout and return to Lohr. Turenne advanced with his whole army descending along the Main towards Miltembourg, where he received a re-inforcement of 4000 men, which were sent from Alsace under the Count de Roye. Montecuculli made several other marches and counter-marches to oblige the French army to leave Franconia; but the Viscount was resolved not to pass the Main till he saw the Imperialists engaged in the forest of Speshardt and deter-

An. 1673.  
Montecu-  
culli decampe  
again.

An. 1673. determined to go either towards Holland or Alface.

The King orders the Duke of Luxembourg to evacuate Holland.

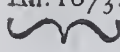
While the two armies were thus endeavouring to surprize one another, Spain in consequence of her treaty with the States General, ordered the Count de Monterei, Governor of the Low-Countries, to declare war against France: this declaration occasioned that of the King three days after, and hostilities soon began in Hainault and Flanders. The Duke of Luxembourg sent a considerable corps thither to the Prince of Condé; and the King had only 4000 men that kept the field in Holland. This scarcity of troops together with the continual overflowing of the country put it out of the power of the French to undertake any thing new, which made Louis resolve to abandon his conquests in Holland.

The Prince of Orange marches towards Bonn. Montecuculli joins the Stadtholder.

The same day that Spain declared War against France, the Prince of Orange joined near Herentals a part of his troops to those of Spain, and entered the territories of Juliers and Cologne with an army of 25,000 men. Having laid waste both those countries, he marched towards Bonn in order to besiege it, and sent to Montecuculli to repair thither with all expedition. The 20th of October the Imperialists left Lohr and went and encamped along the Main from the small town of Hochst to Mentz. Montecuculli passed the river by a bridge of boats and took up his head quarters at Flersheim; the Viscount could not conjecture what road he intended to take. It was of greater consequence to hinder him from invading Alface than from joining the Prince of Orange: the Dutch being joined with the Spaniards had less need of assistance than formerly; the Prince of Condé had led a great part of the French troops into Flanders, and the King designed to abandon Holland. Turenne with reason concluded that Montecuculli would march towards Alface where all was almost without defence: Strasburgh belonged to the Empire, Brisac was ill-fortified;



fortified; Schelestat, Colmar, Landau, Befort and Haguenau were razed, and there was an easy passage into Lorrain, the three Bishopricks and Champagne. He kept the strictest watch on the side of Alsace and narrowly observed Montecuculli's motions, whose chief aim was to conceal his march from him. The German General yet remembered the Viscount's irruption into Bavaria before the peace of Munster; he then saw what he could do, and was ever after afraid of coming to an engagement with him; he was sensible that it was the surest way to make use of stratagem, and set his men to work at a bridge of boats at Weissenau above Mentz, as if he designed to go up the Rhine in order to enter Alsace. Having chosen a place in the river where there was an Isle he laid a half bridge over one of the arms of the Rhine; and in all haste made a flying bridge over the other: the troops passed theremaking as if they designed to march towards Alsace by the Countries of Oppenheim, Linange and Neustadt, The Viscount being informed of their motions, left his post at Miltembourg, crossed the country of Odenwaldt, drew near the Necker, passed that river on the 25th at Ladembourg, came to Philipsburgh and detached 500 horse who crossed the Rhine at Oppenheim to inform themselves of the march of the Imperialists. Montecuculli who had made use of this stratagem only to make it be believed that he was going to Alsace, sent his infantry down the Rhine in boats to join the Prince of Orange, while his cavalry repassed the river and filed off by Veteravia with the same view. The Archbishop of Triers having broke the neutrality and abandoned the interests of France by a treachery like that of the Bishop of Wurtzburg, offered the Imperialists his bridges on the Rhine and the Moselle at Coblentz: the next day the Viscount passed the Rhine at Philipsburgh, came and encamped at Lachen near Neustadt, and crossing

An. 1673.  sing the Palatinate went to Creutznac in order with all expedition to get into the Country of Triers by the Hundstruck : he would certainly have intercepted Montecuculli if the Elector had not delivered up his bridges. The Imperialists having passed the Rhine and the Moselle, joined the Prince of Orange near Coblentz, who immediately went and besieged Bonn. The town being invested by three different armies

17 Novemb. was obliged to surrender after a siege of nine days.

The evacuation of Holland and the Duke of Luxembourg's glorious retreat. The reduction of Bonn and the junction of the enemies three armies obliged the Duke of Luxembourg to leave the United Provinces : he put most of the towns under contribution, formed a corps out of all the garrisons, left the artillery and hostages at Maestricht and Grave, and speedily returned into France with a rich booty. Then Holland emerged from the waters, and the Provinces of Guelderland, Utrecht and Over-Issel recovered their liberty.

The Viscount's generosity. The bad success of this campaign cooled the King of England, the Archbishop of Cologne and the Bishop of Munster ; France saw herself upon the point of being forsaken by her allies and left alone to maintain a war against the Empire, Spain and Holland. The Viscount de Turenne could not dissemble his uneasiness, and there appeared in his countenance an air of thoughtfulness and melancholy. Having put his army into winter quarters in upper and lower Alsace, Lorrain and Hainault, he returned to Court ; the King received him with great demonstrations of esteem and affection : his Majesty talked frequently with him in private of the means of re-establishing affairs the next campaign, spoke to him one day of the fatal consequences of Louvois's counsels and gave him a fine opportunity to revenge himself on the Minister : the Viscount contented himself with answering the King, *that the Marquis de Louvois was very capable of doing*

*his Majesty great service in the cabinet ; but that he* An. 1673.  
*had not experience enough in war to take upon him the*  
*direction of it.* This moderation and generosity extremely pleased the young King, and he said to him, *Though all my Ministers should hate you, my heart shall be always for you.* He then spoke to him of the Marquis de S. Abre, and assured him that that officer should never more serve under him. Turenne asking the reason, the King told him that S. Abre had very much blamed his conduct, and written to Louvois that if he had been consulted, he could have saved Bonn without hazarding Alsace. *Why then did not he speak to me?* said the Viscount with simplicity, *I should have heard him with pleasure and profited by his advice.* He then excused S. Abre, commended him, gave an exact account of his services, obtained a gratuity for him, and entreated the King not to deprive him of so able a Lieutenant General.

The end of the FIFTH BOOK.



THE

T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E  
Viscount de TURENNE.

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BOOK the SIXTH.

An. 1674.

The Stadtholder-ship is made hereditary in the family of Orange.

**T**HE Prince of Orange's prudence, valour and unexpected success, determined the States General in the beginning of the month of February to make the offices of *Stadtholder*, *Admiral*, and *Captain General* of the seven United Provinces hereditary in his person and those of his male descendants. Thus at the age of twenty three he was raised in the Republick to a higher pitch of glory and power than any of his predecessors had been: he then employed all his credit to draw off his uncle the King of England, the Bishop of Munster and the Elector of Cologne from the interests of France, and to strengthen the Alliance which he had already made with the Emperor, Spain and Denmark, and in which he had a mind to engage the principal members of the Germanick body. The King continued, during the spring, to evacuate all the places he had taken on the Rhine and the Meuse; he kept only Grave and Maestricht: Emerick, Rhees, Vessel, Burick and Fort Schenck were restored to the Elector of Brandenburg, according to the treaty which the Viscount had made with him the preceding



ing year. The Elector of Cologne was put again in possession of Rhimberg and Nuys; and the garrisons of the evacuated towns returned to France under the conduct of the Marshal de Bellefonds and the Count de Lorge.

The private treaty between Holland and England had been managed with so much address during the winter that it was at length concluded, even amidst the preparations which both parties were making to renew the war. King Charles II. had long rejected the proposals that had been made him of breaking with France: the Republicans and Protestant zealots of the three Kingdoms were far from consenting to destroy a Republick that was one of the principal supports of the reformed religion; the humour of his people, the solicitations of his Parliament, and the intrigues of foreign Ministers, made Charles encline to a peace; but that which determined him was his fear to lose the trade of the Mediterranean by a war with Spain: he ordered Sir William Temple to draw up the articles at London with the Marquis de Fresno the Spanish Ambassador, who had received full power from the States General; and after some conferences the treaty of Breda was restored in all its extent. Holland insisted upon recalling the English troops which served in France; but those regiments being devoted to the Viscount de Turenne, and refusing to leave him, England promised to let them drop for want of recruits, and allowed the Dutch to levy in Great Britain as many soldiers as they pleased. The treaty being signed at Westminster, the threatenings which the Emperor continually used against the Bishop of Munster and the Elector of Cologne made such impressions upon those two Prelates, that they likewise abandoned the interests of France.

The unfaithfulness of Louis XIVth's allies revived the hopes of all the Princes of Germany; those

An. 1674.  
The King of England, the Bishop of Munster and the Elector of Cologne quit the French interest.

Febr. 19.

Several Princes of Germany enter into a new league against France.

An. 1674. those who had hitherto remained neutral, declared against him: the Elector of Brandenburg thought he might with impunity violate the treaty he had signed; the Landgrave of Hesse, the Elector of Triers, the Elector Palatine, the Dukes of Brunswick and Luxembourg likewise entered into a league with the Dutch; in a word all the Powers of Germany were drawn into it, except the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke of Hanover, who continued neutral. Notwithstanding all these disappointments the King still entertained as great designs as ever; he resolved to make himself amends for the loss of the United Provinces by the conquest of Franche-Comté. He went thither himself in the month of April with a powerful army; he sent another to the frontiers of Spain under Marshal de Schomberg, the Prince of Condé commanded a third in Flanders, in order to watch the Prince of Orange's motions; and the Viscount de Turenne returned into Germany with a fourth, which consisted only of 10,000 men. Before he left the Court, the great Condé did not think it below him to ask the Viscount's advice with regard to the method he ought to take in carrying on the war in Flanders. "Make few sieges, replied the Viscount, and give battle frequently: when you have rendered your army superior to that of the enemy both as to the number and goodness of troops, and when you are master of the open country, the villages will be as good as fortified towns to you: but people think it more honourable to take a strong town, than to conquer a Province.

The Viscount covers Franche-Comté and the King makes himself master of it.

\* The Duke of Lorraine being persuaded that if he enter'd Franche-Comté, a great number of the Lor-

\* Most of the facts in this book relating to the war are taken from Fremont d'Ablancourt's Manuscript Memoirs, the Abbot Raguener's Manuscript history, and the Viscount's two last campaigns, written by Deschamps, which were printed 1678, three years after the Viscount's death; but we owe to the Marquis

Lorrainers would soon follow him thither, took the field about the beginning of May with two thousand horse, which were all his troops, and advanced to Rhinfeld above Bâle, where he proposed to cross the Rhine. At the same time the Viscount advanced towards Switzerland with two regiments of horse lately levied in Alsace and encamped on the tenth of May at Hesingen a village a league from Bâle: the Magistrates of that town encouraged by his presence refused to grant a passage to the Duke of Lorrain, who continued about Rhinfeld till the sixth of June without doing any thing: then the Duke seeing that the King was master of Franche Comté, went and joined Count Caprara near Heidelberg, where the Duke of Bournonville the Emperor's General who had set out from Egra was to meet them with a considerable body of horse and foot.

The Viscount who had returned from Bâle to Hochfeld near Saverne being informed of their march resolved to intercept them and fight them before their junction: he sent orders to get ready a bridge of boats at Philippsburgh, which was done in three days; he gathered together the cavalry that were in quarters, and took 1500 men out of six battalions which he left in Alsace, set out from Hochfeld the twelfth of June, made his troops march without baggage and with extraordinary diligence, and passed the Rhine at Philippsburgh on the fourteenth at noon: from thence he took six pieces of canon and provisions for three days, carried along with him the regiments of Beaupres and Calvo, Fay's dragoons, the battalions of Douglas, du Plessis, and de la Ferté, with a fourth composed of the companies of several corps under the name of

An. 1674.



The Viscount's expectations march.

12 June

quis d'Imecourt Lieutenant General in the King's army who was present at all these actions, several particulars which are not elsewhere to be found.

E e

Picardie,

An. 1674. Picardie, which were all encamped at Philipsburgh : the Viscount formed his vanguard of them and continued his march through the Palatinate. The same day that he passed the river he defeated and took prisoners 200 of the Imperial foot after a very sharp engagement at a farm called Bruckhausen : he afterwards routed 150 horse of the regiment of Prince Ernest of Brandenburg-Bareith, who were marching to sustain that infantry, and at night he arrived at Hockenum where he encamped : as he still feared some surprize, he went himself and viewed the advanced guards at night, to see if all the men were in their posts. As he was going through the camp he drew near a tent where several young soldiers who were eating together, were complaining that he had made them make such a long march to no purpose : an old soldier who had been so lamed in the action of Bruckhausen that he could not raise his hand to his mouth, answered them : “ You do not know our father ; he would not have exposed us to so much fatigue if he had not some great thing in view which we cannot yet find out.” The young soldiers immediately changed their note, and began to drink the General’s health : The Viscount afterwards acknowledged that he had never felt a more sensible pleasure. The fifteenth of June Turenne being assured that the enemy had not yet passed, marched towards Bretten through long defiles in the woods : he halted at noon near the village of S. Lene and taking his rout to the left, went and encamped at Wislock a small town defended by 200 men of the Elector Palatine’s, some militia and a great number of peasants who had retired thither : the Viscount being persuaded that he should meet the enemy the next day, would not attack the place, and thought it more proper to let his troops rest that night : they had marched almost thirty leagues in four days, that is from Hochfeld to Wislock, where

15 June.




the Viscount thought he should assuredly meet the enemy: nor was he mistaken. An. 1674.

By break of day he continued his rout towards Eppinghen; after four or five hours march when he had passed the village of Hoffen, he discovered the enemy between eight and nine in the morning, on an eminence beyond Sintzheim a small town in the Palatinate equally distant from Philippsburgh on the Rhine and Hailbron on the Neckar: it is situated on the banks of the river Elsatz, which runs to the right and left through a long meadow that is overlooked by a mountain which has a steep ascent towards the bottom, but a very easy one towards the top; the summit is a plain shut in behind by a great wood, and large enough to contain an army in battalia: the Duke of Lorrain and Count Caprara's army consisted of 4000 Imperial Cuirassiers, 1000 Saxon horse, 2000 horse of Lorrain and 2000 foot, making all together above 9000 men. They immediately took possession of an old abbey fortified like a castle and situated between the town and the mountain: they then sent the regiment of Streing with 400 dragoons into the town whose walls had been lately repaired, and lastly they drew up their army on the top of the mountain in two lines, the first of which was commanded by the Duke of Lorrain and the second by Count Caprara; thus they had behind them a great wood; their right was secured by the castle and town; their left by a chain of steep mountains which extended a great way towards Hailbron; and before them the river Elsatz formed as it were a double trench, which it was necessary to pass before it was possible to get at the town or mountain.

The French army was composed of 5000 horse and the four battalions of Douglas, du Plessis, la Ferté and Picardie which made above 2000 men; of 1500 foot detached from the regiments of Champagne, Turenne, Languedoc, Burgundy, Ha-

The situation of Sintzheim and of the Emperor's forces.

The number of the Viscount's troops and difficulties he had to conquer.

An. 1674.  milton and Monimouth: of 400 of the Queen's dragoons and Fays independent troop of dragoons. The two armies were almost equal in number, with this difference, that the French had more infantry and the Germans more cavalry; but the Imperialists were much more advantageously posted. The Viscount having entered the plain of Sintzheim, could not begin the attack till he had crossed the two branches of the Elfatz, where there were no bridges, and taken possession of the avenues of Sintzheim which were full of gardens, hedges and marshes, and defended by musqueteers: he must then take the town and the castle and march by a very narrow defile on the declivity of the mountain to a triangular spot of ground which could hardly contain seven or eight squadrons abreast: this spot of ground grew broader in the ascent towards the enemy, but it was dangerous and difficult to form lines so near them: besides the advantage of situation, Caprara's troops were fresh, had come from good quarters and made but small journeys from Hockenum to Sintzheim: but the Viscount's soldiers had been fatigued during the winter and had marched near thirty leagues in four days. If the French had been defeated their retreat would have been dangerous and difficult in an enemy's country covered with woods and full of armed peasants; the loss of a battle in the beginning of the campaign would have dishonoured the General and discouraged the soldiers. The Viscount saw in a moment all these obstacles and dangers; but he was sensible on the other hand how much he hazarded if he gave the Duke of Bournonville time to join the enemy, and how glorious it would be to open the campaign by a victory over the bravest of the Emperor's troops encamped in so advantageous a post: these considerations determined him to offer battle.

The town  
and castle  
taken.

All the cavalry of his vanguard were already in the plain; the infantry were come up, and six pieces

pieces of canon, which were all his artillery, fired from time to time across the valley, when the enemy's squadrons came to reconnoitre. All the army having passed, the Viscount immediately detached his dragoons, who alighted from their horses, with some infantry sustained by la Ferté's grenadiers and fifty fusiliers out of each battalion, to attack the avenues of Sintzheim. Sesan, Major General of the army and the Chevalier d' Hocquincourt at the head of the dragoons drove the enemy from the banks of the river, dislodged them from the vineyards, the gardens, and the suburbs, and were exposed to the fire from the walls; but in less than an hour they got to the brink of the ditch and became masters of all the places about the town: the enemy threw themselves into it in proportion as they were pressed, and entrenched themselves behind the gates which they barricaded with vessels full of earth and beams of timber laid across. The dragoons commanded by the Chevalier d' Hocquincourt finding the bridge broken down, threw themselves into the water and passed the ditch: the attack lasted above an hour and a half; the detachment broke down one of the gates of the town, and took 400 prisoners, the rest were either killed or put to flight. The vigorousness of this action so terrified those who were in the castle that they abandoned their post and fled: the Duke of Lorraine immediately sent thither a regiment of infantry: but a detachment from that of Champagne had already taken possession of it, and the officer who advanced at the head of the enemy having been killed the rest fled.

The Viscount being thus master of the town and the castle, posted some infantry there, immediately drove the enemy from the vineyards and hedges round about, then dislodged them from all the eminences between the castle and the Imperial army, possessed himself of the two sides of the defile and lined them

The Viscount marches towards the mountain where the enemy was.

An. 1674. with musqueteers; he then made his whole army advance; the troops crossed the two branches of the river and passed the defile without opposition; as they arrived he drew them up in order of battle upon the triangular ground which was enclosed on the right by a vineyard, and on the left by a long hedge: he had already thrown into the vineyard, by a *rideau* which went along the foot of the mountain, the three battalions of du Plessis, Douglas and la Ferté, and the battalion of Picardy had upon going out of the defile posted itself behind the great hedge. He gave the command of the right wing to the Marquis de S. Abre Lieutenant General, under whom Beauvesé commanded the cavalry, the Counts de Maulevrier and de Roye served as Major-Generals, my Lord Douglas, the Chevalier du Plessis and du Piloy as Brigadiers, and the Chevalier du Bouillon in quality of volunteer. Lieutenant General Foucault, who was to be at the head of the left wing, had under him the Counts d'Auvergne and Marck Major-Generals, and my Lord Hamilton, the Chevaliers d'Humieres and Coulange Brigadiers. The command of the Corps-de-reserve was given to the Marquis de Renty: the Viscount was to post himself in the center and had for Aide-camps the Marquis d'Harcourt afterwards Marshal of France, the Marquis de Ruigny afterwards my Lord Galloway: Chevalier de Sillery and Silly Guenegaud.

The battle  
of Sintz-  
heim.

The Viscount drew up his cavalry in several lines and posted platoons of foot between the squadrons: scarce had he formed his third line, when S. Abre who was at the head of the first, advanced through an indiscreet ardour beyond the long hedge and vineyard and by that means uncovered his flanks: the enemy seeing that imprudent step, fell upon him, hemm'd him in, broke through his line and put it in great disorder; but the Viscount

came



came up immediately and put a stop to the confusion: the several platoons of foot that were placed between the squadrons made a terrible fire upon the Emperor's cuirassiers and stopt their progress: the dust that rose having hindred them from seeing the disorder into which they had put the first line commanded by S. Abre, they retired and drew up in battalia. The Viscount took the advantage of that moment to extend his lines in as great a front as those of the enemy, so that he had eighteen squadrons in his first line, whereas a little before he had only eight: he then advanced towards the enemy with his cavalry in the center and the infantry on the two wings, which came from the hedge on the left and the vineyard on the right: the conflict was sharp; there was not a squadron but charged several times; the standards and colours were taken and retaken on both sides: the dust was so great that the combatants scarcely saw one another; friends and enemies mixed sometimes without knowing each other, and without being able to rejoin their respective corps; the confusion encreased the slaughter. The Viscount, not contented with going amidst the ranks and encouraging the soldiers by his voice and gesture, animated them by his example, gave his orders every where with tranquillity, threw himself among the Imperialists and was more than half an hour in the midst of the Emperor's cuirassiers: the enemy rally'd several times, but were still broken and repulsed. The Duke of Lorrain and Count Caprara seeing that the French army had gained ground, thought it proper to retire, and made the second line draw off towards the wood, while the first sustained the shock of the French; at length the heat of the battle abating on both sides, the enemy taking advantage of the cloud of dust moved with their left wing towards the wood, and threw themselves into the defile which crossed it: some squadrons made a stand

An. 1674. in the rear to cover their retreat, but after a slight discharge they followed the rest, and disappeared in an instant. The Viscount having viewed the borders of the wood, pushed the Imperialists in person for some time at the head of a body of cavalry: as the enemy divided themselves in several roads in a covered and uneven country, and as his infantry was fatigued by a long battle after a wearisome march, he contented himself with detaching the Marquis de Renty with 400 horse to pursue the runaways, and returned to the field of battle, where he found his troops in as good order as if they had not fought. The principal Officers, the Colonels, and several others, went and congratulated him on the success which they acknowledged was entirely owing to his prudent conduct: he answered them, *That with soldiers like them a man ought to attack with boldness, because he was sure to conquer.*

The pursuit  
of the enemy  
with the  
number of  
the dead and  
wounded.

The Marquis de Renty closely followed the enemy to Hailbron, where he understood that they had passed in several corps the fords between that town and Vimpfen: their baggage had marched in the morning, and a part of their troops had begun the same rout before the end of the battle; the rest took the road to Heidelberg, so that the detachment could not come up with them. They retreated in such a fright, that several of them not thinking themselves safe after passing the Neckar, went above sixteen leagues farther, and did not stop till they got to Frankfort. The battle, with the actions that preceded it, lasted near four hours: the French lost Coulanges and Rochefort, two Colonels of horse, near 180 subaltern officers, and about 1100 common soldiers: the Marquis de S. Abre, the Chevalier de Sillery and Beauvesé were mortally wounded; the Chevalier de Bouillon, the Count de la Marck, the Marquisses d'Aubeterre and la Salle, and most of the subaltern officers were likewise wounded. On the

the enemy's side there were near 2000 killed, five An. 1674. or six hundred taken prisoners together with several standards, kettle-drums, and 40 waggons loaded with baggage. After the battle the Viscount having got together his horse, passed the wood with all his army, and encamped at night near Weibstat, a small town in the Bishoprick of Spire, where the soldiers were very well refreshed after their fatigue. The next day the army returned and encamped at Sintzheim in a valley along the brook, where they had leisure to examine the field of battle, and to know better than in the fight itself how advantageously the enemy had been situated, the difficulty there was in marching up to them, and the particulars of an action that was performed with so much conduct and valour.

The enemy having been chased beyond the Neckar, the Viscount thought proper to repass the Rhine in order to observe the motions they might make towards France, and at the same time subsist his army in the most plentiful parts of the Palatinate: he immediately sent some horse to pillage Wislock, marched to Mingelsheim, where the army stayed two days, crossed the Rhine at Philippsburgh, where he left the four battalions he had taken from thence, and went and encamped at Lachen, a great village in a very fruitful plain a league and a half from the town of Neustadt, which affords provisions and wine in abundance. The army received there a reinforcement of sixteen battalions, 6000 horse in four brigades, and two regiments of the King's and Queen's dragoons, so that it amounted to 16000 men. The Viscount during his stay at Lachen, detached several parties on both sides of the Rhine to learn news of the enemy, went to view the passages thro' the mountains, spread abroad reports of his going upon several enterprizes, and the 3d of July, after a feign'd march towards Keyserlourre

The Viscount's marches and counter-marches on this and the other side of the Rhine.

An. 1674. on the other side of the mountain, he made the army advance strait to Philipsburgh, again passed the Rhine there, took with him the four battalions and twenty pontoons, and went and encamped the same day at Hockenum. On the morrow he continued his march towards the Neckar, and leaving Heidelberg on the right, which town saluted him with some discharges of canon, he arrived by eleven in the morning at the village of Weiblingen on the Neckar a league and a half from Ladembourg.

The Duke of Bournonville joins the Duke of Lorrain and Count Caprara.

After the rout of Sintzheim, the Imperialists having got together their army at Heidelberg, marched towards Worms; they had encreased their number by the junction of the Duke of Bournonville's troops. They amounted in all to 13 or 14000 men, and came and posted themselves on the Neckar, having the town of Ladembourg on their left and Manheim on their right. Being encamped on the banks of the river five days before the Viscount's arrival, they had cast up entrenchments at the ford of Ladembourg, erected batteries, and taken all necessary precautions to hinder the French from passing. While the Viscount was at Weiblingen, a false alarm was given in the night time; he mounted his horse, went himself to the head of the camp, and encouraged the soldiers with these words, *What, my children, are you afraid where I am?* The next day he made some squadrons cross the river, sent parties to observe the enemy's camp, and was informed of their strength and situation by some troopers who were taken prisoners. The Dukes of Lorrain and Bournonville astonished at his boldness, retired without opposing his passage: they first sent away the troops of the Palatinate to post themselves at Manheim, then their baggage and infantry; and having in the beginning of the night made the rest of their army decamp, they took the great road called



called Berstas, which leads to Frankfort. As the town of Ladembourg and the defiles hindered the Viscount from seeing their motions, he knew nothing of their retreat till two hours after: he immediately detached the Count de Roye with 1400 horse and 600 dragoons to pursue them: Roye marched till nine in the morning, and halted near Zuingenberg. Du Repaire, whom he had sent before with 200 horse, having passed a defile, crossed a great plain, and perceived behind an eminence which bounded it a guard of 60 of the enemy's troopers, who made off at his approach; Du Repaire pushed them, got to the top of another rising ground, and saw all the enemy's rear, who had stopped in order to bait: at the same time he was attacked by 3 or 400 horse, which obliged him to give ground, but the Count de Roye having sent a detachment to support him, the Imperial horse retired as fast as they had come on: each party had about 12 or 15 killed, and the French took prisoner a Lieutenant. Du Repaire rejoined the Count de Roye, who not thinking it proper to pass the defile, and engage in an unequal fight so far from the army, returned to the Viscount. The several parties that had been detached to observe the enemy's motions, reported that the Imperial army had in all haste forded the Main, and that the greatest part of the infantry not being able to follow, were scattered in the woods and on the mountains which were along the road.

The ninth of July, the French army came and encamped at Gros-Saxon a league from Ladembourg, and Marshal Turenne being master of the Palatinate by the retreat of the Imperialists, let his troops live there at discretion; they consumed in a month the forrage and harvest of the country; so that it was impossible for the enemy to subsist there. Most of the peasants abandoned their houses and left the

An. 1674.

July 9th.  
The cruelty  
of the inha-  
bitants of the  
Palatinate,  
and of the  
English in  
the French  
army.

An. 1674. the country; but to revenge themselves for the miseries they suffered by war, before their departure they exercised all manner of cruelties on those soldiers of the French army that they could surprize; they burnt some at a slow fire, and hung up others with their heads downwards, and left them to die in that manner: they tore out the heart and entrails of others, put out their eyes, and having maimed them after different ways, they exposed them in the high roads. The French army saw those spectacles in several places in their march. The English provoked at this inhumanity, gave themselves up to their resentment, went like madmen with torches in their hands, and burnt a great many boroughs and villages, and even some small towns: their revenge was so sudden, that the officers could not restrain them; and had not the threats and orders of Turenne put a stop to their fury they would have laid waste the whole Country: he exemplarily punished those who began the burning, tho' they were the bravest soldiers of his army. He could not condemn them to death without doing great violence to himself; but as the maintaining of discipline was concerned, he made clemency give place to severity.

The Elector Palatin sends a challenge to the Viscount. Louis Elector Palatine second cousin to the Viscount being exceedingly enraged at the devastation of his territories sent him a trumpet with the following letter.

The Elector's letter to the Viscount. "The burning of my towns and villages, which a letter from one of your domesticks as well as accounts from other hands, give me ground to believe was done by your orders, is a thing so extraordinary and so unworthy of a person of your quality, that I am at loss to find out the reason of it: every body is the more astonished at this manner of acting as you did not use the like even before your conversion, in several campaigns which you made in this country against enemies who were not your relations:

— as

“ as for me, tho’ I might have expected no less An. 1674.  
 “ after the disorders which the troops under your  
 “ command committed in my territories the last  
 “ year, when you marched through them as a  
 “ friend, yet I cannot help being surprized at a  
 “ procedure so little conformable to the laws of war  
 “ amongst Christians, and to the assurances you  
 “ have so often given me of your friendship: it  
 “ appears to me that at the worst people  
 “ do not set fire to any place, but such as re-  
 “ fuse to pay contribution, and you know that you  
 “ never demanded it of those which you have re-  
 “ duced to ashes. Several of your prisoners have  
 “ assured me that you did it to revenge your self on  
 “ my peasants, who were reported to have maimed  
 “ the dead bodies of your soldiers whom they  
 “ found; but as my peasants were never known to  
 “ have committed such barbarities before, it is  
 “ more probable that they have been done by the  
 “ prisoners which you carried from the Bishopricks  
 “ of Strasburgh and Spires, who perhaps were glad  
 “ of furnishing you with this pretence of revenge.  
 “ But granting that it had been my subjects, I can-  
 “ not see how the inhumanity of some private men,  
 “ which I would have severely punished had I  
 “ known the authors of it, could have obliged you  
 “ to ruin so many innocent families, and consume  
 “ even the very churches of your own religion.  
 “ Actions so contrary to the improvement you pre-  
 “ tend to have made in the practice of Christianity  
 “ by your conversion, make me believe that they  
 “ proceed from some prejudice or spite you have  
 “ conceived against me; but it would have been easy  
 “ for you to have taken satisfaction of me by ways  
 “ more usual amongst men of honour. I doubt  
 “ not but that while you are making no attempts  
 “ but upon the miserable, the Most Christian  
 “ King will allow you time to right yourself  
 “ by

An. 1674. “ by a more generous method than that of the  
 “ ruin of my poor subjects, and that you will not  
 “ fail to acquaint me by the bearer, of the time, the  
 “ place and the manner in which we shall take sa-  
 “ tisfaction of each other : I do not ask this of you  
 “ out of a romantick humour, or the vanity  
 “ of perhaps receiving a refusal, but from a desire  
 “ of revenge which I owe to my Country, see-  
 “ ing I cannot at present take it at the head of  
 “ an army equal to yours, and because any other  
 “ vengeance from heaven upon you may not be so  
 “ sudden as that which you may meet with from  
 “ my hand : I promise my self in this rencounter,  
 “ that that Country which was formerly an asylum  
 “ to your deceased father, my Great Uncle, in his  
 “ misfortunes, will be the witness of your repen-  
 “ tance as it has been of your outrage and cruelty.  
 “ Signed CHARLES LOUIS Elector Palatin.

The Viscount immediately returned this answer by the same trumpet.

The Vis-  
count's an-  
swer.

“ I have received the letter your Electoral High-  
 “ ness did me the honour to write to me ; I  
 “ can assure you that the burning of some of your  
 “ villages was without my order, and that the soldiers  
 “ who found their comrades killed after a very  
 “ strange manner, did it at hours when they could  
 “ not be hindered. When your Electoral Highness  
 “ shall be sufficiently informed of the fact, I doubt  
 “ not but you will continue to honour me with a  
 “ share in your favour, since I have done nothing  
 “ that can be a reason for depriving me of it.

The moderation and prudence of this answer brought the Elector into temper : he enquired into the fact, found it such as the Viscount had represented it, and was ashamed of having been so much transported by passion.

The Vis-  
count's pa-  
ternal af-  
fection to  
the soldiers.


The army having consumed the forrage, and all that could be of use to the enemy in that part of the  
 Pala-



Palatinate which is on the right of the Rhine, Tur-  
 renne repassed the river at Philipsburgh on the 28th  
 of July, and went to that which is on the left to do  
 the same there. He first encamped at Lachem,  
 half a league from Neustadt, and afterwards near  
 Landau and Weissembourg, where he continued  
 above a month. During his stay there, a dysente-  
 ry got into the army, and on that occasion the  
 Viscount shewed how far his kindness for them ex-  
 tended: the best father never was at more pains to  
 have his children cured; he let no day pass without  
 visiting the sick; he supported them by his libera-  
 lities, supplied all their wants, and conversed with  
 them with a noble familiarity. When he wanted  
 money on these occasions, he borrowed of the first  
 officer he met, desiring him to receive payment of  
 his Steward: The Steward suspecting that some-  
 times they asked more than they had lent his master,  
 represented to him that for the future he should  
 give bills to those of whom he borrowed: "No  
 " no, said the Viscount, give all they ask of you;  
 " it is impossible an officer should demand a sum  
 " which he has not lent, unless he be in great want,  
 " and in that case it is but just to assist him." This  
 conduct filled the soldiers with love and respect for  
 him: when he was walking at the head of the camp  
 they would come from their posts to look at him, and  
 would say to one another, *Our father is in good  
 health, we have nothing to fear.*

In the mean time the Emperor's army which had  
 continued for a month past, between Mentz and  
 Frankfort, was increased by the junction of the  
 troops of Zel, Wolfembutte, Saxony, Hesse,  
 Munster, Cologne, Triers, Lunenburgh, and  
 some Circles of the Empire. The Duke of Bournon-  
 ville the leader of the Imperial army had under him  
 Prince Herman de Baden, General of the artillery,  
 and Count Caprara; the Duke of Lorrain com-  
 manded

An. 1674.



The confederates pass the Rhine.

An. 1674. commanded his own troops, as did the Elector Palatine, the Duke of Holstein-Ploem led those of Lunenbourg. These six Generals having held a council of war, resolved to force the bridge of Mentz; they passed it on the first of September, marched up the Rhine, and encamped between Spires and Philipsburgh, extending themselves from Duttonhoven to Mechtershheim.

Louvois  
blames the  
Viscount's  
conduct.

As soon as it was known in France that the Imperialists had passed the Rhine with an army of 35000 men, Louvois could not help blaming the Viscount's conduct and imprudence, and remonstrated the necessity there was of making the army retire into Lorrain to cover that Province. The King sent pressing orders to the General commanding him to quit Alsace; but Turenne seeing at one view the consequence of such a proceeding, represented to the King the danger there would be in leaving the banks of the Rhine. “ The enemy, “ said he in his letter, how numerous soever their “ troops be, cannot think of any other enterprize “ this season, but that of making me leave the “ Province I am in, they having neither provisions, “ nor the means of passing into Lorrain till I be “ driven from Alsace: if I go away of my own “ accord, as your Majesty orders me, I shall do “ what perhaps they would find difficult to make “ me do: when a General has a reasonable number of troops, he needs never quit a country, “ tho’ the enemy has a great many more: I am “ persuaded that it would be less prejudicial to your “ Majesty’s interest that I lost a battle, than that I “ abandoned Alsace and repassed the mountains; “ in this case Philipsburgh and Brisac would soon “ be obliged to surrender; the Imperialists would “ take possession of all the country from Mentz to “ Bâle, and perhaps immediately carry the war “ into Franche-Comté, from thence into Lorrain,

“ and

“ and come and ravage Champagne : I know the strength of the Imperial army, the Generals that command it, and the country I am in ; I take all upon my self, and will answer for the event.” The King who knew the Viscount’s firmness, and how little he was given to be presuming, trusted entirely to his capacity and experience, sent him a reinforcement of eight battalions, left him at liberty to do as he pleased, and Louvois was obliged to submit to the King’s orders. The course of the campaign justified the Viscount, and the Minister himself admired his able management.

The confederates being still encamped in the same place, began to make a bridge of boats near the village of Loussen, two leagues from Philipsburgh, and made as if they designed to besiege that town. As the Elector of Brandenburg was bringing them a reinforcement of 20000 men, it was not doubted but they would undertake the siege after that junction : all necessary precautions were taken to defend Philipsburgh ; the body of the town was fortified with seven faced bastions, encompassed with a large ditch full of water, and surrounded on all hands by morasses, except two avenues where a counter-guard and two half moons were built : a great horn-work was immediately made towards the Rhine, and nothing was forgot that could contribute to a long defence : the garrison which ordinarily consisted of 1800 men, was increased with four troops of dragoons, and the independent companies of the Commandant and Major : four battalions and two regiments encamped under the canon, of which there were 70 pieces, and there was abundance of provisions and ammunition in the town. Du Fay commanded the troops within, Villedieu the battalions without, and the Count de Maulevrier gave orders to both as Major General.

The Viscount puts Philipsburgh in a condition of defence.

An. 1674.

The Imperialists pass the Rhine without daring to advance into Alsace.

The French army encreased daily by the reinforcements which the King sent, and amounted to upwards of 20000 men. The Viscount understanding that the enemy's bridge was finished, detached the Baron de Montclar, with 1200 horse, and 500 dragoons to take a near view of the enemy, made a detachment of 500 foot commanded by Churchill an English Colonel, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, advance to the defile of Rhinzabern, and sent to the Count de Maulevrier to fire six canon shot from Philippsburgh when the enemy passed the Rhine, to serve as a signal for Montclar to charge their rear, and for Churchill to advance to sustain him. He at the same time ordered, that if the enemy instead of crossing the river should march towards the French army, only four canon should be fired, to give notice to Montclar and Churchill to return to the camp. This design, tho' well concerted, did not succeed: the Count de Maulevrier did all he could to know when the enemy passed the Rhine; but the situation of the two places hindred him from seeing the true condition of their bridge, and from knowing the time of their passing: their camp was inaccessible, two rivers covered it on the right, morasses and woods on the left, the Rhine behind and defiles before: Montclar went up and down three whole days without being able to discover any thing. The Imperialists passed the Rhine the 21st of the month, and the Count de Maulevrier did not know it till a little after; he however gave the signal, and Montclar arrived in their camp which he found on fire.

The Viscount sends in pursuit of them in order to know their design.

The Viscount sent orders to prepare the bridge of Philippsburgh immediately, and to the Count de Maulevrier to take 600 men of the regiments of du Pleffis and la Ferté with the Commandant's dragoons, and go and seize the bridge and castle of Graben two leagues from Philippsburgh in the way





to Dourlach : his design was to stop the enemy there, to cut off their way to Strasburgh, and to make them stay in a close country without subsistence, where he hoped to fight them to advantage. The Count de Maulevrier having marched through a very difficult defile arrived in the beginning of the night near Graben ; but he found the enemy already encamped there, and therefore he retired to Philippsburgh. He learned by the way, that the corps posted at Graben was a detachment of 5000 horse commanded by Count Caprara, who had orders to advance with all expedition to the bridge of Strasburgh, and there wait for the rest of the army. Hence it was that the enemy had passed the Rhine near Spire, in hopes of repassing it at Strasburgh. The Viscount had foreseen it, but he thought that that town which had so many reasons to observe a neutrality, and which could not allow the enemy to pass without exposing her self to the King's resentments, would not grant the confederates a passage which it had never done to any party during the great wars in Germany, and which she had refused the Imperialists the spring before.

The confederate Generals having nevertheless made divers attempts to obtain a passage ; the Count de Hohenloe, who had undertaken that negotiation, not being able to persuade the magistrates, had given money to the people in order to gain them, and had used all his efforts to revive the ancient hatred of the citizens to France. He had represented to them, that since the King's conquests, Alsace was under oppression, its towns dismantled and deprived of their privileges ; that Strasburgh might expect the same treatment if Louis XIV. should become master of it ; that the greatest Princes of the Empire were ready to pass the Rhine with an army of 60,000 men to defend their liberty ; that a handful of French concealed in the lower Alsace

The Count de Hohenloe gains the inhabitants of Strasburgh.

An. 1674. could never stand before such united forces ; that victory was certain, and that it would be followed by the recovery of Franche-Comté and Lorrain. These repeated discourses had produced their effect, the people had mutiny'd, made themselves masters of the bridge, and promised to grant a passage to the confederates.

The Viscount sends the Marquis de Vaubrun to keep the inhabitants of Strasburgh neutral.

The Viscount being informed of Hohenloe's solicitations, represented to the magistrates the misfortunes to which they exposed themselves by breaking the neutrality at such a conjuncture ; they answered, that they would never break their promise, but could not be responsible for the people. The Viscount seeing that there was nothing to be done by negotiations detached the Marquis de Vaubrun Lieutenant General (whose courage and talents in war he knew) with two battalions, 5 or 600 horse, 500 dragoons, and some pieces of canon, to take possession of the fort at the end of the bridge on this side of the Rhine, and to assure the inhabitants of the town at the same time, that he had no other design but to preserve the neutrality, and that he would pay even the least damage his troops should do.

The Viscount marches towards Strasburgh.

Strasburgh is situated near the Rhine on the river Ill, which runs almost parallel to the Rhine, falls into it at Wantzenau, a league and a half below Strasburgh, and forms a great isle called Rubertzaw, where there is a bridge whose head is defended by a fort. The Marquis de Vaubrun having made his troops pass over into the isle by several fords of the river Ill, viewed the fort, and acquainted the Viscount that he might go thither without being incommoded by the town. Turenne set out himself to go and join Vaubrun, left in the camp at Winden the main body of his army under the command of the Count de Lorge and Foucault Lieutenant Generals, with orders to follow him the next day, and took with him only 1200 foot. He arrived in the Marquis

Sept. 24

quis de Vaubrun's camp on the 25th of September An. 1674. at seven in the morning, and found that instead of taking the fort, he had suffered himself to be amused by the inhabitants of Straßburgh who had deceived him. Vaubrun proposed to attack the fort, but it was now too late; the Viscount was informed that the town was already full of Imperialists, and that Count Merci, son to the great General of that name, having taken possession of the fort with a body of dragoons, the Imperialists were intirely masters of the place. The Viscount made his troops repass the Ill towards the evening, and going down the river crossed the Suvel, continued in order of battle on the other side till morning, viewed the ground and the avenues, marked out a camp for his army, covered his left by the Ill, stretch'd his right to a great morass, had his front at the river Suvel and the village of Wantzenau behind him: in this post he waited for the rest of his troops which were coming from Wenden.

The Imperialists had passed the Rhine near Spire on the 21st, and Caprara's detachment having arrived the 24th at the bridge of Straßburgh, Merci's dragoons had thrown themselves into the fort. The rest of their army joined them the 25th, passed the Rhine the next day, turned to the left, crossed the Bruschi, marched up that river, and extended themselves from the villages of Geispitzen and S. Blaise along the river Ill to Gravertstaden. By this disposition of their camp the Imperialists became masters of the country from the Rhine to the mountains of Saverne, and by consequence of all the Upper Alsace, where they found provisions in abundance to support a very powerful army a long time, and from whence they might easily make an irruption into France. They had already near 40,000 men, and expected in 15 days the Elector of Brandenburg with a reinforcement of 20,000: never was there a more advantageous

An. 1674. advantageous situation; that of the Viscount was very different; his army consisted at most but of 22,000 men; he was in the lower Alsace, a country not very fertile in itself, and consumed by the stay which his troops had made there for two months: with such unequal forces he was obliged to cover Saverne and Haguenau, places no less weak than important. After the junction of the Electoral and Imperial troops, he could not continue in Alsace: a retreat was nevertheless dangerous, and the consequences fatal; it would occasion the loss of Brisac and Philipsburgh, and tarnish the glory of the French arms; the King's allies in Germany might be overpowered, Lorraine and Franche-Comté retaken, and Champagne pillaged. In this extremity the Viscount could find no other expedient but to march strait to the enemy, and fight them before the Elector of Brandenburg should join them. He knew very well the advantages which their number and situation gave them; he knew likewise what a warlike army could do that was full of Officers accustomed to dangers, and conducted by a General beloved by his soldiers.

The Viscount marches towards the enemy.

Turenne then formed a design to attack the Imperialists, and only defer'd the execution till his troops should have a little respite: they rested three days in their camp at Wuntzenau; in the beginning of the night he ordered the King's, the Queen's and Liffenay's dragoons to march before, and make bridges where it was necessary; he himself decamped at midnight, and passed the river Suvel at Lampertheim: his army advanced in three columns, the cavalry kept Strasburgh on the left, the artillery and baggage marched on the right, and the infantry between them. He took the road to Achenem, where the enemy had luckily neglected to guard the bridges: during the march there fell abundance of rain, which soaking into the fat and tilled land,



land, made the roads very bad. Nevertheless he An. 1674. arrived at four in the afternoon on the high grounds of Achenem; he spent the rest of the day in viewing the country, advanced himself with some cavalry, passed the Brusche, and discovered the enemy's camp in a plain shut up on the right by a great wood towards Strasburgh, and on the left by a small wood of 100 paces in length, and 4 or 500 in breadth, and near their center was the village of Ensheim: as he had not a moment to lose he made his army file off the whole night, and as the soldiers passed he drew them up in order of battle in the plain at the left of the village of Holsheim, as near the river as he could, and all that time he was on horseback.

On the 4th of October by break of day the French army was in order of battle in two lines: He draws up his army in battalia. seventeen squadrons of the brigade of Pilois formed the right of the first, together with the King's and Liffenay's dragoons under the Marquis de Vaubrun Lieutenant General, and the Count de Roye Major General: the brigade of Humieres consisting of the like number of squadrons, and the Queen's dragoons composed the left, commanded by the Count de Lorge Lieutenant General, and the Count d'Auvergne Major General. Foucault the oldest Lieutenant General headed the ten battalions in the center of the first line, and had under him two brigadiers, the Marquis of Douglas on the right, and the Count de Pierre-fite on the left; Mont-Georges posted between the two lines supported the infantry of the first with five squadrons. The center of the second composed of eight battalions, four of Reveillon's, and four of Pizieux's, had on the right wing 14 squadrons of the brigade of Renty, and on the left a like number of that of Lambert. The Viscount intermixed all those squadrons with several platoons of grenadiers as at the battle of Sintzheim:

An. 1674. three battalions and four squadrons made the corps-de-reserve: the whole army amounted to 22,000 men and had thirty pieces of canon under S. Hilaire Lieutenant General of the artillery. Turenne had for Aid-de-camps my Lord Duras, the Chevalier de Bouillon, and the Marquisses d'Harcourt, Ruvigny and S. Poin: he posted himself in no particular place, intending to go wherever his presence should be necessary; he rode along the front of his first line and shewed himself to his troops with an air of gaiety which he commonly had on a day of battle. As soon as the English saw him they gave a shout of joy, which he looked upon as a good omen,

The order in which the Imperialists drew up their army.

The Duke of Bournonville having been informed the day before of the Viscount's arrival, had drawn his quarters together near that of Ensheim, which was the head quarter, and put his army, consisting of 35,000 men and fifty pieces of canon, in order of battle behind the village. He drew up his troops in two very deep and long lines with a corps-de-reserve of so many battalions that it might be reckoned a third line. He gave the command of the right wing to Count Caprara and the left to the Duke of Holstein-Ploen. He placed himself at the head of the main body: the Duke of Lorrain, the Prince of Baden, and several Princes of Germany, to the number of two and twenty, commanded their own troops; but in subordination to the Lieutenant Generals of the wings where their corps were placed. The order of battle being thus regulated the Duke of Bournonville seized a small wood which was before his left. He sent some canon thither and into the village together with some infantry who entrenched themselves there. His right was shut up by a great wood towards Straßburgh and with vineyards enclosed by a long hedge which went along the head of that wing. His center was covered by the village of Ensheim furrounded with hedges, ditches and entrenchments;

trenchments ; his left wing was sheltered by a ditch on the brink of which was a hedge and by a small wood which was opposite to the middle of that wing. He had moreover on his right and left *rideaus* and hollow ways which so concealed his infantry that they could hardly be seen. In this situation the Imperialists waited for the French.

The Viscount marched his army towards that of the enemy, and as he could not charge them without being master of the little wood, he ordered it to be attacked by the King's and Liffenay's dragoons, who dismounted and were headed by the Marquis de Boufflers, afterwards Marshal of France. The Imperialists were posted there under cover of some *rideaus* and earth which they had turned up : they had three battalions there and two pieces of canon charged with cartridge shot. Turenne ordered some field pieces to advance ; both parties canonaded each other for some time, and then the musketeers began their fire. The Duke of Bournonville continually detached fresh troops to maintain the post, and the Viscount was obliged to send to the assistance of the dragoons 500 grenadiers of the platoons which were placed between the squadrons ; with this reinforcement Boufflers renewed his attack, marched up to the entrenchments, charged the enemy sword in hand, made himself master of their artillery, and pushed them to the second entrenchment behind which they had placed six other pieces of canon. The French stood the fire of them for three hours without being able to gain ground. The Viscount seeing it impossible to force such a post without a great body of infantry, sent thither the battalions of Burgundy and Orleans from the corps-de-reserve ; those of Languedoc, Churchill and Monmouth, from the second line, and the battle began afresh. A violent rain suspended for some time the fury of the attack, but that respite only served to redouble the ardour of

An. 1674. of the foldiers. The slaughter grew terrible and they fought upon a heap of dead bodies. At length the French forced the second entrenchment, took the other six pieces of canon, drove the enemy from the wood and still gained ground.

The continuation of the battle.

The Imperialists not daunted with being twice repulsed, and looking upon the post of the wood as of the utmost importance, detached seven battalions of the infantry of Lunenburgh to endeavour to regain their canon and enter the wood. Then the Viscount caused all the battalions of the second line which had not yet charged, to advance; there began for the third time one of the most bloody battles between the infantry that had been seen of a long time. The victory was doubtful for some hours; all the officers acted there according to their own judgments, determining themselves by the occurrences. The unevenness of the field of Battle and the fury of the combatants hindered them from giving or receiving orders in the usual forms: the action was attended with many singular circumstances: the rain which still continued and the danger of attacking the Germans under their canon made it equally difficult and hazardous. As the Imperialists fought at the head of their line their cavalry supported them by easy and regular motions, while the Viscount's battalions, being at a distance from his right, were not sustained at all. He made all the squadrons of the second line of his right advance in the room of those of the first, and caused the first to march towards the enemy, and extend itself along the wood which it left behind it. The Viscount incessantly visited all the posts, supported those that were the most pressed, and thought it his duty to expose himself as much as the meanest soldier in a new attack wherein he was to make his last effort. Several of his people were killed by his side, his horse was wounded under him and the Marquis d'Harcourt gave him his. Tur-  
renne's



renne's example made the soldiers exert themselves so bravely that they repulsed the enemy, whose obstinacy carried them to return to the charge a fourth time; but the Viscount having pointed their own canon against them, again repulsed them and forced them to take refuge behind the entrenchments of Ensheim after the defeat of almost their whole infantry which they had made advance.

Whilst a good part of both armies was thus employed in attacking and defending the wood, the rest of the troops only canonaded and observed each other: all the first line of the French continued in an extended front, as above described; but there were in the second only the squadrons of the left. The Duke of Bournonville seeing the King's army thus left open, abandoned his post in the wood, left the care of it to the Duke of Holstein-Ploen, and sent Caprara with a great body of cavalry, through a concealed way behind the two lines of the French left wing, to fall upon their infantry in the rear, while he himself advanced with several chosen squadrons to attack them in front. Lieutenant General Foucault, who was at the head of the infantry of the first line, seeing the Duke of Bournonville coming on one side, and Caprara on the other, immediately made the necessary evolutions for facing both ways, and waited for the Duke of Bournonville without stirring, ordering his battalions not to fire: the German General astonished at this conduct, durst not hazard himself and went back again; but Caprara being more bold, fell upon the left wing, broke several squadrons of the second line, pushed Mont-Georges who designed to make a stand with the squadrons of the corps-de-reserve and got behind the French infantry: the Counts de Lorge and d'Auvergne immediately rallied all the squadrons of the second line and of the reserve, attacked Caprara, obliged him to return in all haste from whence

An. 1674.

The end of the battle.

An. 1674. whence he came, and the French became masters of the plain as they were already of the wood. The little that remained of the day was spent in canonading one another; the night, which came on the sooner, and was the darker by reason of the incessant rain, put an end to the battle.

The enemy's retreat and the number of the dead and wounded.

The French had been upon the march for near forty hours before the action; it had lasted from morning till night in a deep soil in a close wood during a continual rain; the Viscount saw that if he made his troops pass the night in the field of battle without eating, they would not be in a condition to fight next day: he therefore repassed the Brusche to get at his provisions and baggage and refresh his army after the fatigue of the march and the battle. He had advantage enough to claim the honour of the day; above 3000 of the enemy were killed on the spot, he had taken from them eight pieces of canon, several standards, kettle drums, colours and prisoners; he remained master of the wood, their foremost entrenchments on his right and all the plain on his left. He repassed the river at Holtzeim and went and encamped at Achenem a short league from the field of battle, on which he left Bulonde a Brigadier with six regiments of cavalry and one of dragoons. While his troops were resting themselves, the enemy abandoned their camp with precipitation, and left in it two pieces of canon, a good deal of provisions and a great number of wounded. The French were informed by some prisoners, that long before the end of the battle the Duke of Bourbonville had made his baggage take the way to Strasbourg, and that the confederates, having retired in great confusion in the night time, had yielded to the Viscount all the advantages that the bad weather and the fatigue of his troops had hindered him from gaining during the day. The battle had been bloody on both sides; the French lost near 2000 soldiers and a great many

many officers; the Count d'Auvergne, the Marquisses de Pizieux and Reveillon, the Count d'Hamilton and a great number of subalterns were very much wounded. Besides the 3000 men which the enemy left dead on the spot, they lost a great many wounded soldiers and officers who died the day after the action. Their loss was so considerable; that not being in a condition to keep the field till the arrival of the Elector of Brandenburg, they retired under the canon of Strasburgh where they were cover'd by the river Ill.

The Viscount staid two days between Achenem and Bruschwinkersem, a league and a half from the enemy, who might have easily marched up to him. On the seventh of October he went two leagues further to the town of Marlen on the small river Mozig which descends from the mountains of Saverne: the army encamped there having its right covered by the river, and its left extended along some rising grounds which were at the back of the camp; he chose that post as the most commodious to wait for the confederates whom the junction of the troops of Brandenburg would render three times as strong as he. Had he continued in his first camp, the enemy, after their junction, would have attacked Saverne and Hagenau, or marched up to him and he would not have been able to have kept the field; but by the situation of his new camp, he covered those two places from whence he was supplied with provisions, had his army in a safe place, and preserved behind him the forrage which might be afterwards necessary to him: there was behind his right in the way to Saverne a very narrow defile, a quarter of a league long, and reaching to the castle of Vasselone which belonged to the inhabitants of Strasburgh and which was guarded by fifty men: the Viscount engaged the Commander to let him throw into it as many troops as were necessary for the defending the post, and thus secured a communication with Saverne,

The Viscount secured the passages and defiles and encamped at Marlen. 7 October.

An. 1674. put himself in a condition to succour Haguenau, or retire with safety if the enemy should oblige him to it.

The Elector  
of Branden-  
burgh joins  
his troops to  
those of the  
Imperialists.

The Imperialists were still encamped at Strasburgh waiting for the Elector of Brandenburg, whose march, slow in itself, was also retarded by the difficulty which several Princes of Germany made to grant him a passage thro' their territories: he desired only to come into Alsace time enough to take up his winter quarters there, thought of nothing but sparing his troops by making easy marches, and carried along with him a great equipage according to the custom of the Germans. The Electress and several other Princesses accompany'd him, and said every where that they were going to make acquaintance with the French Ladies in order to to learn the manners of that polite Nation. This great re-inforcement, which amounted to 20,000 men, crossed the Rhine at the bridge of Strasburgh on the fourteenth of October; it consisted of the Elector's troops, the recruits of the Duke of Lunenburgh, which that Prince commanded in person, and the militia of Suabia and Franconia: moreover the Elector Palatine who had returned to his dominions when the confederates first passed the Rhine at Strasburgh, joined the troops of Brandenburg in their way, with 2000 men which he himself commanded; thus the Imperial army amounted to near 60,000 fighting men. While all these troops were crossing the Rhine, the Duke of Bournonville made his men pass the Ill, and went and posted himself near the place where the battle of Ennheim was fought. The next day the Elector of Brandenburg and the Elector Palatine joined him; they hoped to drive the French out of Alsace, to enter Lorraine and penetrate as far as Paris. The alarm reached the Court; the King ordered the ariere-ban and several regiments which served in Flanders to march towards the Rhine. The German Generals having held

14 October.



held a counsel of war wherein it was resolved to march An. 1674.  
 towards the Viscount, the Duke of Bournonville advanced on the high grounds of Achenem with sixteen squadrons, kept in sight there almost a whole day, and made several motions as if he had a mind to take an exact view of the French camp. Turenne was not at all deceived, and judging of the enemy's designs rather by what they ought to do than what they seemed to design, thought that this step of theirs was only a feint, and that while they pretended to attack him their true design was to conceal their march from him and fall upon Haguenau; to prevent them, he sent the Count de Roye to the left of his army with orders to detach several parties as far as to the Rhine and throw 800 men into Haguenau. None of the parties hearing any news of the Imperialists, the Viscount began to think that their intention was really to come and attack him on the right, and to guard against that inconvenience, he caused *redans* to be made across a plain which rises gradually on the other side of a brook; he there lodged some infantry and thus covered his right and the defile which went through the mountain; he dislodged the garrison of Strasburgh from the castle of Vasselone and made himself master of it; he set the men to work at other entrenchments at the head of his camp, and all the army believed that he intended to wait the enemy there. As he was visiting the works, he observed an old foot soldier resting himself; the Viscount came up to him, took him aside and asked him why he did not work: the soldier answered him smiling, *It is, General, because, you will not stay long here.* Turenne by that saw his penetration, gave him money, desired him to keep the secret, and soon after made him a Lieutenant. The Imperialists had three things in their option, either to offer battle to the Viscount, or cut off his communication with Saverne, or lay siege to Haguenau, the taking of which  
 would

An. 1674. would certainly have occasioned that of Philippsburgh: they still continued in their camp without making any motion; whether it was that so many Generals could not agree upon what was proper to be undertaken, or that they hoped that the Viscount finding himself too weak would retire of his own accord, and leave the country open to them.

The Imperialists to the number of 60,000 men march towards the Viscount.

They continued in this uncertainty till the 18th of October, then they begun their march towards the French camp; Turenne was immediately informed of it by the Marquis de Vaubrun and the Count de Roye; he mounted his horse, and being come to the top of an eminence on the left of his camp, saw all the enemy's army advancing, and resolved to retire that night to Dettweiler, from whence he might cover Saverne, and succour Haguenau. After the sun was set he made his baggage and covered waggons march through the defile of Vasselone, the artillery he sent by another defile on the left towards the extremity of the hill; and when all the train was gone the army followed it at midnight in two columns through the same defiles: The Count de Lorge led the van, Lieutenant General Foucault and the Count de Roye were in the rear: by break of day the army had past the first of the three defiles which are between Marlen and Dettweiler; scarce had it entered the second when the enemy appeared about eleven in the morning opposite to Cochersberg, and to disturb the march they detached 2000 horse, who charged the hindmost troops of the Viscount's rear-guard, just as they had entered the third defile. The French dragoons alighted, posted themselves behind the hedges, kept off the enemy by their firing, and gave the army time to pass without loss. The number of the Imperialists still encreased, they followed the Viscount to the rising grounds near Dettweiler; but 6000 horse of the ariere-ban under the Marshal de Crequi appeared on the eminences of Vasselone, and the antient reputation of that corps frighten'd the enemy

enemy so, that they durst not attack the French <sup>An. 1674.</sup> army, which continuing its march boldly and in good order, arrived in the new camp about ten at night. All the soldiers rejoiced that without any disadvantage they had made a retreat of almost four leagues in the presence of an army near three times stronger than theirs.

The Viscount who had of a long time foreseen the great strength that the Imperialists would gather, had chosen this post as an asylum capable to afford shelter to an army so much inferior to the enemy's as <sup>The Viscount fortifies himself in his camp at Dettweiler.</sup> his was. He had before him the river Soor, his right at Dettweiler and his left towards Hochfeldt, both his wings being covered by two brooks that run into the Soor. The army continued all night in order of battle, and on the morrow, which was the 20th, as soon as it was day, viewed the avenues, posted the guards, and encamped. The Viscount detached a corps to Steinbrouch half way to Saverne, with orders to throw themselves into this last place upon the least alarm, resolving to march thither himself with the whole army, in case the enemy should advance so far. In order to execute this design with the greater expedition and security, he caused bridges to be laid over the brook which covered his right, and spoilt all the fords of the Soor as far as Saverne. The other side was of more importance and difficult to be defended; the left wing of the French army was two leagues from Brumpt; the right wing of the Imperialists was but half a league from it, and their left extended towards the rising grounds of Cochersberg: if they had immediately seized that pass, they might have come up to the French army, or have posted themselves between it and Haguenau: whether it was that they did not know those advantages, or that they wanted resolution, or lastly that they thought the Viscount would be obliged to retire for want of forrage, they

An. 1674. did not attempt that pass and gave him time to take all his precautions. He caused all the fords of the Soor on that side to be spoilt, and all the bridges to be broke down as far as beyond Brumpt; he planted a guard of dragoons in that town, in which they might see from the steeple of the church the least motion that the enemy could make towards the river: he threw another detachment of dragoons into the castle of Hochfelt, and joined those two posts by guards of cavalry, who were to give him notice of all that passed. There were likewise guards placed in the same manner from Hochfelt to the camp, and scouts were sent out every night through all that extent of ground to get intelligence: if the confederates had attempted to pass the Soor, the Viscount designed to fight them in their passage, and to hazard all to hinder them from going to Haguenuau.

The Viscount's generosity.

While the Viscount was in his camp at Dettweiler, he met a poor Gentleman of the ariere-ban who was very ill mounted, but who appeared extremely zealous for the service. He proposed to him to change horses, and made him accept of one of a great price in exchange for one of little value, which he said pleased him better, because he was more gentle. In the midst of the cares and toils of war he let no opportunity escape him of thus exerting his generosity, and at the same time concealing it. From the same camp at Dettweiler he sent his nephew the Duke of Elbeuf to make his compliments to Charles the IVth, Duke of Lorraine, who was in the enemy's camp. Charles could not help saying to the young Prince, who was then but 14 years of age: "My young cousin, you are too happy to see and hear the Viscount de Turenne every day: you have no other Father but him, kiss the ground whereon he treads, and be killed at his feet \*." The Imperialists and the French

\* Madame de Sevigné's letters.



continued in the same situation till the 30th of Octo-<sup>An. 1674.</sup>ber, the formidable German army not daring to undertake any thing, but the seizing of Vasselone, where the Viscount had placed a Captain and 150 soldiers. The Elector of Brandenburg battered that castle with ten great canon from two batteries, notwithstanding which the besieged held out a day and a half. The Elector thought at first to make the garrison prisoners of war, but the Chevalier de Ronfiere who commanded them having refused to surrender, they marched out after an honourable capitulation and returned to the army, where every body very much praised their defence.

The same day the Marquis de Genlis arrived in the camp with 15 squadrons, which the Viscount posted at Vilfen on the Soor between his camp and Hochfelt. The Marquis de \* Montauban brought twenty others with him three days after, and eight battalions. The Count de Saulx was coming likewise with 24 squadrons and 10 battalions. La Feuillée, Sourdis and the Gendarmes put themselves also in a condition to join him, if occasion required; but the Viscount made them stay in German Lorraine till he should think proper to make use of them. All those troops came from Flanders, where the campaign ended very early, because the confederates being defeated at the battle of Seneffe, and afterwards repulsed before Oudenarde by the Prince of Condé, had been obliged, to avoid the total destruction of their army, to go into winter quarters in the middle of October.

The Imperialists who had not dared to pass the Soor before the Viscount received a reinforcement, thought him too strong for them to venture upon any enterprize after the arrival of so many troops; and it being difficult for them to subsist in a camp where the country round about was already ruined, they

Assistance  
is sent to the  
Viscount  
from Flanders.

The Imperialists retire, and encamp first at Achenem then at S. Blaise.

\* Of the family of la Tour du Pin in Dauphiné,

An. 1674. returned towards Strasburgh, and encamped at Achenem. The distance they were at gave the French army some rest: but it was in great want of forrage; and tho' it was a little relieved by the convoys of oats, yet the cavalry decreased very much, the horses died daily, being wasted with hunger and cold: nevertheless it was necessary to stay there in order to cover Saverne and Haguenau. The convoys of all necessaries for the army came from Lorrain by little Pierre, which the Germans call Lutzelstein, the inheritance and place of residence of a Prince of the Elector Palatin's family. The Viscount fearing lest the Elector Palatin's persuasions should prevail with that Prince to break the neutrality which he had till then observed, sent to him Sezan a Major General in the army. Sezan having made use of persuasion and menaces succeeded in his negotiation, and the Prince agreed to receive 200 men into the town, provided none were put in the castle. The Viscount by making himself master of this post, secured to himself all the commodities and advantages that an army can draw from a country behind it, when that before it is ruined or possessed by the enemy.

The Viscount retires to Ingweiler.

The Imperialists having learnt that the Viscount had received another reinforcement of some battalions of the French guards with the regiment of Rambure, and that he had made bridges over the brook as if he had a mind to march towards them, repassed the Brusche, posted themselves in the place they were in before the battle of Ensheim, and took up their head quarters at Geispitzen and S. Blaise. Turenne then distributed his cavalry in the villages two leagues from his camp behind the river Moder, so as that he could get them together in a few hours. Seeing that the enemy was at a distance, and Saverne in a very good condition by the works he had made and the garrison he had left there, he caused

Novemb. 20.

caused his infantry to decamp from Dettweiler, and distributed them likewise into quarters beyond the Moter from the mountain to Haguenau, and took up his head quarters at Ingweiler. Before he marched he caused the castle of Hochfelt to be razed, lest the enemy should post themselves there, to hinder the communication between Saverne and Haguenau. An. 1674.  
Nov. 21st.

The next day he viewed the river Moter as far as the Abbey of Newburg, broke down all the bridges to secure his quarters, and at the same time put into Haguenau all the forrage that could be got together in order to deprive the enemy of the means of subsisting there when he should be at a distance.

Tho' the confederates were separated from him by several rivers, they nevertheless thought proper to entrench themselves; they had raised in the plain between Ennheim and Geispitzen a great number of *redans* which covered the head of their camp; when they were informed that the Viscount had put his troops into quarters, they extended themselves in the upper Alsace, hoped to live there in the midst of plenty, and flattered themselves that they should enter Lorraine and Franche-Comté in the spring. This last Province expected them as her deliverers, and the people there were secretly preparing bread and all other necessaries for their subsistence: the Lorrainers being great lovers of their Duke, waited only for his presence to declare themselves in his favour. The season being very far advanced, the confederates not imagining that the Viscount had thoughts of coming to disturb them in their quarters, divided amongst them all the fine country between the Rhine and the mountains of Alsace from Strasburg to Befort, and began to treat about contributions. The Elector of Brandenburg having established his Court at Colmar made the Electress come there, who had till then stayed at Strasburgh.

An. 1674.

The Viscount makes his troops file off towards Lorraine.  
Novemb. 29.

The Viscount being resolved to hazard all in order to dislodge the Imperialists, and make them repass the Rhine, left in Saverne and Haguenau what troops were necessary for the defence of those two places, and on the 29th of November began to make his army file off: he himself marched with the rear to little Pierre, encreased its garrison in order to preserve a passage for himself into Alsace, and having crossed the mountains, continued his rout to Lixheim, where he found some quarters belonging to the troops commanded by the Count de Saulx: he continued there till the 4th of December, and then marched to Lorkheim to make another stay there. As the deep designs of this General were not known, scarce had the news of his march into Lorraine reached the Court of France, when people began to criticize his conduct. Even some Officers of his own army, who could not penetrate into his intentions, wrote to Paris that they were astonished at his procedure. They could not forgive his retiring into Lorraine after having given hopes that he would save Alsace, nor conceive what had induced him to refuse the Count de Saulx's troops. The Minister omitted nothing to make the King sensible of the General's seeming ill conduct. It must however be confessed that the publick did the Viscount justice, tho' all appearances were against him; they were persuaded that he had his reasons for what he did; and if they murmured at his retreat, it was not so much a blaming of his conduct, as a complaining of fortune which had not seconded his prudence and valour.

Decemb. 4.

The Viscount prevails upon the Prince of Montbeliard to continue neuter,

The Imperialists seeing that he had retired, went into quarters in different places in Alsace, and settled in Schelestat, Tuckeim, Colmar, Ensisheim and several other towns. Being persuaded that the Viscount had no more thoughts of disturbing them, they blocked up Brisac on both sides of the Rhine, and sent



sent to summon the Prince of Montbeliard a descendant of the family of Wirtemberg to declare for them: but the Viscount sent to him the Duke of Duras Governor of Franche-Comté, who prevailed upon that Prince more by persuasion than threats to continue neuter.

In the month of December, the Viscount seeing that the enemy had done all that he had foreseen they would, and that it was time to begin to put in execution the great project he had laid two months before, took the Count de Saulx's 14,000 men, and the troops he himself had brought with him from Alsace, divided them into several detachments and small parties, put old Officers at the head of each, made them march the 5th of December by different routes over the mountains of Vauge, and appointed them all the same place of rendezvous, without acquainting any of them where the others had orders to go; the place of rendezvous was near Befort at the other end of Alsace: he marked out their routes and lodgments in such a manner, as that they could get together in less than four and twenty hours. He himself marched with a body of troops by Blamont, Baccarat, Dontail, Padoulx, Loyes and Longuet, where he rested ten days. He then went to Remiremont, seized it, drove from thence 400 Lorrainers who had taken possession of it, and continuing his rout by Faucogney and Melizay, he arrived on the 27th at Befort, where he got all his troops together, after a three weeks march over mountains covered with snow, through overflowing torrents, and almost impassable ways. As soon as the enemy had intelligence of Turenne's conduct, they took the alarm, abandoned their quarters that were most advanced, and retired to the places about Altkirk, towards the source of the river Ill; on the 28th the Viscount continued his march two leagues beyond Befort to Grun, where

An. 1674.

He assembles his troops at Befort.

Decemb. 5th.

An. 1674. he made the gendarmes lodge near his own quarters, together with the brigades of Lucinge, Sourdis and Cateux, and ordered them to be in readiness the next day on the road to Mulhausen to endeavour to surprize some of the enemy's quarters.

**The engagement at Mulhausen.** On the 29th, by break of day, he learnt from some prisoners, that the troops of Munster were marching to the general rendezvous of the Imperialists; he followed them in all haste, and came up with them near Mulhausen; he made the first squadron of Orleans and that of Sourdis advance and charge them, under the command of the Marquis de Montauban Major-General for the day, who attacked them, and the engagement was sharp on both sides. The Viscount posted the gendarmes on an eminence which stretched itself along a neighbouring brook; those great squadrons coming down the hill in a wide front, the enemy thought that they were the head of a second column, and that the whole army was behind. The ford being luckily broad enough, the Marquis de la Trouffe crossed it with all expedition at the head of his gendarmes, in order to sustain those who had already passed; la Trouffe arriving when two squadrons of the Duke of Lorraine's light horse were charging with advantage a squadron of the gendarmes of Burgundy, put himself at the head of the Dauphin's gendarmes, marched up to the Lorrainers sword in hand, and made them give ground, but perceiving some more of the enemy's squadrons coming behind the hedges to take him in the flank, he stopped and faced about to that side with the squadrons that he found nearest him. The Count de Lorges, who till then had staid with the Viscount, passed at the ford, and led a squadron directly to the enemy with drums beating and trumpets sounding; but the Imperialists fled in such disorder, that instead of re-joining their main body, they went to Bâle and cross'd

cross'd the Rhine. The Count de Lorges followed them for some time, went to the top of a hill to view the ground, and discovered another body of Imperialists in the bottom at the foot of the hill, on which he posted two squadrons, and went and acquainted the Viscount. The troops that had been thus attacked were 5 or 6000 horse of the Emperor's, Lorrain and Munster, with some infantry who were going to Ensisheim to join the Duke of Bournonville and the Elector of Brandenburg, upon hearing of the Viscount's march: when those troops discovered the first squadrons of the French, they thought they had only been a party; but having afterwards seen the gendarmes, and knowing that the Viscount was there in person, they had maintained the fight only to give time to their infantry and baggage to enter the defiles which reach from the plain to Ensisheim. Turenne having no infantry, because the rest of his army was above two leagues off, and seeing that night was coming on, did not think it proper to go in pursuit of them: the French had taken prisoners the Commander of the troops of Munster, Caprara's and Denewald's Majors, 18 other officers, and near 300 troopers; they had likewise carried off 18 standards and two pair of kettle drums, and had lost only one Captain and 60 troopers; but the Count de Broglio, the Marquis de Beaumont, and several other officers were wounded. The Action was very brisk, turned entirely to the advantage of the French, inspired their troops with confidence, and diminished that of the enemy, who saw themselves attacked in the middle of their quarters, and forced to get together in great haste at the end of December and keep themselves upon the defensive instead of passing the rest of the winter in quiet. The Duke of Bournonville retired in the night time to S. Croix near Colmar, in order to join the Elector of Brandenburg there.

The

An. 1674. The Viscount having returned in the evening to his quarters at Grun there to wait for the rest of his army, sent next day towards Bâle a strong party which brought away a good many prisoners : he afterwards took a detachment of the enemy's Croatians who were marching without mistrusting any thing near his quarters ; and lastly he made himself master of the castle of Brumstat, into which the Imperial regiment of Portia, consisting of 900 men, had thrown itself in its march to join the Duke of Bournonville at Ensisheim ; he made them all prisoners except the Colonel and Major of the regiment who had leave to depart.

An. 1675.

The Viscount marches towards the enemy with a view to offer them battle.

3 January.

All the French army being got together, the Viscount made his dragoons and the brigade of Sourdis march to Ensisheim, which they found abandoned. The third of January he took up his quarters there, marched next day to the castle of Ruffac, where there were 400 dragoons of Brandenburgh and 150 troopers and caused them to be blocked up by the brigade of Lanfon : he continued his rout strait to Passenheim where his cavalry waited in order of battle till his infantry came up, who having joined them on the fourth of January in the evening, he staid there all night. After the engagement at Mulhausen, the enemy had removed all their quarters to Colmar, where the Elector of Brandenburgh had his : and as they saw that the Viscount was marching directly to them they chose to wait for him in that post. It would have been difficult to have found one more advantageous ; they had Colmar and the river Ill on their left, the mountain and town of Turkeim on their right, and at their front a branch of the river Fecht which cuts the plain and runs along from the one town to the other. Beyond this river they drew up their army in battalia, made parapets along the banks, erected some batteries there and others at Colmar to canonade the flank of any troops that should



should come into the plain, being persuaded that it was impossible to approach their camp by any other way. The Viscount caused their situation to be viewed; he himself knew exactly all the places thereabout, and though it seemed almost impossible to attack so powerful an army in such an advantageous post, yet he marched towards the enemy on the fifth of January in the morning.

The whole army advanced in two columns with a vanguard of 2000 foot and 400 grenadiers: after two hours march it was within a league and a half of the enemy, and there was nothing between them and it but the river in an open plain a league broad. The cavalry which had served the whole campaign under the Viscount, were both very much fatigued and considerably diminished, but his infantry was good: he had received from the army in Flanders a re-inforcement of near 100 squadrons and twenty battalions: the whole together amounted to above 30,000 men accustomed to fight under Generals of consummate experience. As soon as the French had entered the plain, the Viscount formed his right wing, gave the command of it to the Count de Lorges, and led his vanguard to the left, close by the foot of the hills, the ground full of vines and encumbered with hedges: as his Officers saw only the inconveniencies without discovering the advantages of it, they had need of all their confidence in the capacity of their General to keep themselves from being discouraged. The left wing marched in this manner, and entered by the valley of S. Gregory an opening of the mountain where the small town of Turkeim is situated, about a league and a half from Colmar and at the foot of the mountains of Alsace, in the end of a great meadow near the river Fecht, which divides itself into two branches and forms an Isle, where the enemy were drawn up in order of battle.

The

An. 1675.  
The order of  
the Vis-  
count's  
march to  
Turkeim.

An. 1675.

The action  
of Turkeim.  
5 January.

The Count de Lorges who commanded the right wing, extended it in the plain to a church near Colmar as if he had intended to attack that town, which made the enemy neglect Turkeim and bring all their troops to the left to oppose the attempts of the French right wing towards Colmar. They soon after found out the Viscount's stratagem, and to remedy their error, detached on their right towards Turkeim twelve battalions and six pieces of canon supported by a pretty large body of cavalry to hinder the French from passing the river and making themselves masters of the town. The Viscount made Lieutenant General Foucault advance with eight battalions and attack the post which the enemy had seized along the brook, ordering him, in case he should drive them from thence, not to follow them nor take their canon, in order to avoid a general battle ; he likewise forbade him to begin the attack till an hour before sun set, that the enemy might take counsel in the night and retire by favour of it to prevent being attacked next day in front and flank. Foucault marched with the eight battalions till he was opposite to the detachment of the Imperialists, he stood their fire for some time with a great deal of firmness, and was soon re-inforced by the Queen's battalion and those of Navarre, Anjou and Vaisseaux, who bravely passed the river and made several discharges. The enemy could not sustain their attack, they gave ground by degrees and began to retreat, which encouraged the French to push them and take possession of their post: the Imperialists immediately abandoned Turkeim. Night came on, and suspended the battle till next day : the Viscount's troops continued in the situation they were in, only he sent and seized an eminence above Turkeim with a view to make use of it if the enemy staid in their camp till day : but fear having seized the Imperialists, they retired by night and at sun rising there was no enemy to be seen

in the plain. Thus ended the action of Turkeim, An. 1675. where Lieutenant General Foucault and the Marquis de Mouchi a Brigadier were killed. Never did the Viscount give more signal proofs of his foresight, of the greatness of genius and capacity in war, than on this occasion.

The next day Turenne advanced along the brook towards Colmar, where he learned that the enemy had made their baggage and artillery file off, that at midnight their army had decamped in great disorder, having posted a few squadrons only on the banks of the river during the night to cover their retreat; that they had taken the road to Schelestat and left their sick and wounded men in Colmar: and indeed the French found 3000 of them there and several officers. At nine in the morning Monclar was detached with the brigades of Humieres and Lambert to follow them and observe them without attempting any thing. The Imperialists being arrived at Schelestat, posted themselves advantageously there, extended themselves to Chatenoi and thus took up all the breadth of country from the mountains of Alsace to the river Ill; they staid there three days waiting till their baggage and artillery had got past the defiles, and then marched to Benfeld in order to cross the Rhine at the bridge of Strasburgh. On the ninth the Viscount followed them, took up his quarters at Gemer, spread his troops all round Schelestat and entered the town himself in order to remove the Burgo-Masters fears. On the eleventh the enemy's army left Benfeld and repassed the Rhine. Turenne had on the third sent a letter to Strasburgh, assuring the inhabitants that he would observe a neutrality with them, without doing them any harm, forgiving and forgetting all that was past. This letter had produced the effect desired, and the Magistrates trusting to the assurances he had given them, sent to him on the fourteenth Kinser, the town Secretary, to inform him that

The Imperialists repass the Rhine. 6 January.

An. 1675. that the confederates had repassed the Rhine and to desire him to renew the neutrality : the Viscount agreed to it on condition that they would not allow the enemy to cross at their bridge.

The Viscount's letter to le Tellier Secretary of State.

The success of this campaign astonished all Europe, but the surprize was still greater when it was known that the Viscount had foretold it two months before. The King caused to be read in presence of all the Court a letter from the General dated the thirtieth of October at his camp at Dettweiler and directed to le Tellier Secretary of State, in which Turenne signified to him, “ That pretending not “ to be able to resist the enemy after their junction “ with the Elector of Brandenburg, he would still “ retire before them ; that to give them the greater “ confidence he would retreat quite into Lorraine ; after which they would not fail to extend themselves “ all over Alsace ; that then he would fall upon their “ quarters by a way that they should never suspect “ his coming to surprize them ; and that he would “ perhaps oblige them to repass the Rhine and take “ up their winter quarters in their own country.

The Viscount was yet in his camp near Schelestat when he received a letter dated the thirteenth of January at S. Germain en Laye in which the King expressed a great impatience to see him. He immediately set out for Paris, after he had given the necessary orders for the security of Alsace, and left the command of the army to the Marquis de Vaubrun, who soon made himself master of Molsheim, Molsig and Achsteim the only place which the confederates held in Alsace ; Vaubrun possessed himself of several other posts in Brisgaw which secured a communication with the country on both sides the Rhine, provided plenty of provisions for the subsistence of the troops in their winter quarters, and thus put an end to a campaign that was so fortunate to France.

The Viscount goes to Court.

The Viscount de Turenne in his way to Paris, met every



every where great multitudes of people of all ages An. 1675. and conditions who came to see him ; the inhabitants of Champagne flocked together in crowds ten leagues round, shed tears of joy upon seeing him, and looked upon him as a deliverer who had saved them from the calamities of an approaching invasion. When he arrived at Court, the King received him with greater marks of esteem and favour than he had ever showed to any body : the whole conversation in Paris turned upon his last campaign, the lustre of which seemed to eclipse all his preceding ones ; it was said every where that *Fabius* was become *Alexander* ; he was looked upon as the preserver of the State ; people stop'd in the streets to see him as he passed ; he could not appear in publick without being surrounded by a crowd of people, who wept with joy and admiration.

Louvois himself could not avoid doing justice to this General ; he reflected with a kind of confusion on all the disadvantageous judgments he had passed on the Viscount's conduct during this long and glorious campaign. The Prince of Condé being dissatisfied with the Minister, spoke of his discontent to Turenne ; and they both resolved to complain of him to the King, not so much to gratify their resentments as to hinder his disconcerting the projects of the ensuing campaign. Condé was softened and appeased by the submissions of the Chancellor le Tellier, [the Minister's father] but the Viscount de Turenne thinking he should fail in his duty if he kept silence, spoke resolutely to the King, and made him sensible that tho' Louvois was an able Minister yet he was not always qualified to judge of the operations of a war in a remote country so well as the Generals who were upon the spot. He did not so much as mention any thing that regarded himself personally, and dwelt only on such matters as might affect the welfare of the State: he desired leave of the King to write to him directly, and to have his letters delivered by his nephew Cardinal

The Viscount's conduct with regard to Louvois.

An. 1675. dinal Bouillon. Louis granted him all he asked, and admired the moderation, generosity, and greatness of soul of a man who did justice to the merit even of those who had endeavoured to injure him. He afterwards ordered Louvois to go wait on the Viscount, make his apology to him for what had past in the preceding campaign, and desire his friendship. Louvois obeyed, not only because it behoved him to submit to the orders of a King who never gave any that could be neglected with impunity, but from a real desire of gaining the esteem of a Hero, to whom no body could with honour be a declared enemy. The Viscount received Louvois with that dignity and affability which always unite in great men to inspire at the same time respect and love. He heard the Minister's compliment and then answered him, " I have done a great deal to gain your  
 " friendship, because the King's service required it ;  
 " and yet I have not been able hitherto to obtain it.  
 " You now ask mine because his Majesty orders  
 " you so to do ; I do not refuse it you : but allow  
 " me to tell you that I shall not make you a pro-  
 " mise of it till you have shewn by your conduct  
 " that you desire it in earnest.

The Vis-  
 count has a  
 mind to re-  
 tire, but the  
 King hinders  
 him.

The Viscount's glory and reputation were quickly spread not only in the Capital and the most distant Provinces, but also in foreign countries. Most of the Princes in Europe spoke of him as of an extraordinary man ; no body had ever heard of a reputation more shining or more extensive. Far from being elevated or growing proud amidst all this splendor, he was sensible of the vanity of it from the principles of virtue which possessed his mind.

He had once again a mind to retire from the distractions of the world ; the House of the Institution of the Priests of the Oratory \* was the place he had chosen,

\* Tradition of the family of Bouillon. The same tradition is among the Fathers of the Oratory, and was originally founded on the testimony of du Castel

chosen, there to give himself up to the pure pleasures of a life of thought and contemplation : but the King again forbidding his retirement, he obey'd and prepared to make a campaign against one of the greatest Generals of the age.

In the preceding year, France by herself, without allies, had maintained the war against the Spaniards, Imperialists and Dutch : she had conquered Franche-Comté, preserved all her frontiers and obliged the Germans to seek their winter quarters on the other side of the Rhine. A treaty of peace was set on foot during the winter, and Nimeguen was agreed upon for the place of negotiation ; but the Emperor Leopold refusing to set at liberty Prince William of Furstemberg, afterwards Cardinal and Bishop of Straßburgh, whom he kept prisoner, Louis XIV. demanded his enlargement and would hearken to no proposals for a peace without that preliminary. The King of Sweden gave up his title of Mediator which he had bore for two years past, and declared war against the Elector of Brandenburg : which produced in favour of France a diversion of the troops of the Empire, and obliged the Elector and the Princes of Brunswick and Lunenburgh to retire from the banks of the Rhine and enter with the Bishop of Munster's troops into the Country of Bremen. There then appeared in Europe six great armies in Europe commanded by six great Generals.

Condé returned into Flanders in the month of May to fight the Spaniards and Dutch commanded by the Prince of Orange : the Elector of Brandenburg put himself at the head of his troops and those of his allies to oppose the Swedes whose General was the Constable Wrangel ; the Emperor sent the

Bel and S. Denis Fathers of the same society, who M. de Turenne had successively with him in the campaigns that followed his conversion.

An. 1675. Count de Montecuculli into Swabia to hearten the Imperialists, still terrified at Turenne's victories.

The Viscount's justice.

The Viscount used in the beginning of every campaign to regulate his accounts and pay all his debts : he was more than ordinary solicitous this year to see that piece of justice performed. \* Before his departure for Alsace he went to visit Cardinal de Retz and told him that were it not for the present situation of affairs he would retire as he had done. He left Paris on the eleventh of May and went to Schelestadt, where the troops which had staid in Alsace under the command of the Marquis de Vaubrun were to rendezvous.

11 May.

The Count de Montecuculli endeavours to seduce the inhabitants of Strasburgh.

Montecuculli had a design to pass the Rhine at Strasburgh, and endeavour to reap, in the higher Alsace, those advantages of which the multiplicity of counsels and the bad conduct of the confederate Generals had till then deprived them. He had taken the Emperor's old troops from their winter quarters much sooner than usual, and made them advance towards Strasburgh. He went thither himself to view the neighbouring posts, and to represent to the inhabitants that it was their interest in particular and that of the Empire in general to allow him a passage ; that it was the only means to drive the French from the Rhine, and to restore Alsace to its liberty ; that they had no reason to fear a turn like that which happened in the last campaign ; that he did not command an army levied in haste, divided in interest and conducted by leaders of different sentiments and equal authority, but was alone at the head of the flower of the Imperial troops in order to deliver Alsace from a foreign yoke. Turenne was informed at Nancy of Montecuculli's negotiations, and judged that his presence was the only thing that would keep the inhabitants of Strasburgh steady to their neutrality : he hastened to enter Alsace, made

\* Madame de Sevigne's Letters. Vol. II. Let. 201.



his troops advance with all expedition to join the rest An. 1675.  
 at the rendezvous at Schelestadt, arrived there as soon as they, and marched immediately with his cavalry to Benfeld four leagues and an half from Strasbourg; the inhabitants terrified at his approach sent to assure him that they would continue neuter. On the 27th of May he went and encamped at the village 27 May.  
 of Achenem a league and a half from Strasbourg, from whence might be seen the whole French army entrenched in two lines: by this diligence the Viscount put himself in a condition to gain all the advantages of the campaign. Had he delayed his march for some days Montecuculli would have passed the Rhine, entered the higher Alsace and reduced the French to a worse condition than they were in the year before: but the half of the Imperial army which had wintered in the Country of Liege could not come up time enough to pass the Rhine with the troops which the German General had drawn out of their quarters in Suabia: though he saw his measures disconcerted, yet he did not give over the design upon which his whole scheme for the campaign turned; which was to find an opportunity of crossing the Rhine and to oblige the French General to keep at a distance from Strasbourg: he marched strait to Philipsburgh, gave out that he intended to besiege it, seized all the posts round it, caused the flying bridges at Mannheim to be put in order, and a bridge of boats to be made near Spires.

The Viscount left his army in the camp at Achenheim, advanced with 400 horse and 1000 dragoons as far as Haguenau, took from thence 100 foot which he threw into Philipsburgh, and then rejoined his army. Montecuculli made a part of his troops pass the Rhine, sent some cavalry to Landau and Neustadt, and made a body of Croats advance to Lauterbourg in order to engage the Viscount to march up to him or cover Haguenau; all these feints did not move

Montecuculli passes the Rhine near Spires, and the Viscount makes bridges at Ottenheim.

An. 1675. Turenne : as he judged rightly of the enemy's design by the knowledge he had of their true interest, nothing could make him remove far from the capital of Alsace. In the beginning of June he detached the Marquis de Vaubrun with his regiment of cavalry, that of Gournay, Rambure's brigade of infantry and six pieces of canon to go and encamp at Erstein on the river Ill and to make with all expedition a bridge over the Rhine four leagues from Strasburgh near the village of Ottenheim in a place where the river dividing itself into five branches forms several Islands covered with woods : it was necessary to have as many bridges there, and to cut roads across the woods : boats and other necessary materials were brought from Brisac for making these bridges, which, by the care of the Marquis de Vaubrun, were finished in four days together with an entrenchment at the head of the last.

The Viscount encamps at Vilstet in Ortnau.  
6 June.

On the sixth of June the Viscount went to visit this work, passed the Rhine, and viewed the places about the bridges going down the river as far as Ottenheim. The next day, having ordered his men to take bread for four days, he decamped at two in the morning and marched with the whole army after the Marquis de Vaubrun who led the vanguard. There were but five leagues to Ottenheim where they were to encamp on the other side of the Rhine ; but the rain had made the roads so bad that the rear could not come up till next morning, and the Viscount continued all night at the head of the last bridge to make the troops advance. Scarce was the rear arrived when he made the van march ; and notwithstanding the rain and the defiles by five in the evening he got to Vilstet : this village is one of the dependencies of the County of Hainau, is near two leagues from Strasburgh and watered by the river Quinche which issues from the mountains of the Black-Forest and falls into the Rhine a little below fort Kell. The  
Viscount

Viscount incamped his army from Vilstet and the river Quinche to the village of Ekerfvr by which runs the brook of Schutteren, which joins the Quinche a little before it falls into the Rhine; and by this situation he cut off the enemies way to Strasburgh, nor could they come to him but through long defiles and by crossing a river.

Montecuculli not having penetrated into the Viscount's design, had let him seize the post of Vilstet at the same time that he sent word to the inhabitants of Strasburgh that he was coming to take possession of it himself; he did not on that occasion shew the same activity that the Viscount had done fifteen days before. Montecuculli was again disconcerted and found that the only thing he could do was to march directly to the French army. The Viscount sent to view the town of Offembourg, which was two leagues from his camp; it was in too good condition for him to undertake the siege of it; Montecuculli had made Lieutenant General Spork march thither with a great body of cavalry, three squadrons of which were thrown into the place. On the thirteenth of June the enemy drew near: the Viscount went to view them himself, and seeing how they directed their march he made his army encamp in battalia with the front towards the place by which they were to pass. The Imperial army consisting of 25,000 men, extended itself from Ortemberg where its left was, to beyond Offembourg along the Quinche; its right was but a league and an half from the head quarters of the French army which did not amount to 20,000 men; but the defiles and woods which were in the space that separated the two armies, hindered them from coming nearer one another without disadvantage and danger.

The eyes of all Europe were fixed upon these two great Generals, whose success was going to decide the

Montecuculli encamped between Ortemberg and Offembourg.

13 June.

The characters of the two Generals.

An. 1675. the fortune of the King's arms and those of the Emperor in Germany. \* They were near of an age, had had the same education, being formed by uncles who were rivals, Prince Maurice and Count Ernest, had carried a musket before they obtained any commission, and acquired by fifty years fighting a consummate experience in all the branches of the military art; both the one and the other had received from Heaven an extraordinary genius, a solid judgment, a mind master of itself, and a coolness of temper, which is no less necessary in a General than foresight and valour. As they became Captains by study they fought by rules and left scarce any thing to fortune: and being adored by the soldiers, love to the General rather than the obedience due to the Sovereign seemed to animate each army: these two Generals knew, esteemed and feared one another; neither of them durst hope to get a victory through the fault of his enemy, he must gain it by force of genius and military science. "This  
 "last campaign, (according to the opinion † of a great  
 "judge in the art of war) is the master-piece of the  
 "Viscount de Turenne and the Count de Montecuculli; there is nothing so fine in all antiquity; none  
 "but the *Connoisseurs* in the art can form a right  
 "judgment of it." How many obstacles were there to surmount on both sides! How many feints, marches, counter-marches, deep and artful stratagems and designs! It is by these things that great Generals are known, and not by easy conquests, or by gaining victories with a prodigious number of troops.

The enemy's design and the plan of the campaign.

The Viscount had passed the Rhine; it was a bold step which spread a terror in the Empire and obliged Montecuculli to try all ways to make him repass it: he could not succeed but by beating the French or depriving them of the means of subsistence; the former was uncertain and the latter might be tedi-

\* See the characters of these two great Captains by the P. de Tournemine, in the journals of Trevoux for the month of May in the year 1707.

† Chavalier Follard, Polybius, Vol. I. p. 255.



ous: the Viscount brought his provisions from the upper Alsace by means of the bridges which he had over the branches of the Rhine, and had meadows behind him to feed his horses when there should be no more forrage. Montecuculli had not the same advantage: his army, followed by a great number of useless people and horses, would probably be in want of provisions sooner than Turenne's. The Imperialists best expedient was to make themselves masters of the Viscount's bridges: the project seemed feasible and the success would have procured them great advantages as well as great honour. Turenne had two bridges to guard, the one his own near Ottenheim, and the other belonging to the inhabitants of Strasburgh, who waited only an opportunity to break their word with impunity: their bridge was guarded by the troops of the Circle of Suabia posted in fort Kell, which the Viscount could not hinder Montecuculli from seizing but by staying at Vilstet, near five leagues from Ottenheim and two from Strasburgh, so that he had an extent of seven leagues to guard.

The Viscount not doubting but that the enemy would apply themselves to the taking of the bridges, caused eight battalions, three brigades of cavalry and eight pieces of canon to march under the command of the Count de Lorges and post themselves at the village of Altenheim, a league and a half from the bridge of Ottenheim, the head of which was already guarded by the battalion of Bandeville and 800 men detached from Brisac to which were joined the battalion of Bretagne and the brigade of Renty. Turenne had had the precaution to open all the defiles from Vilstet to the bridge that his troops might march with more ease and greater expedition from either of those places to the other as occasion should require. After the enemy had encamped at Offembourg he posted his dragoons in a wood on the right of his first line and 300 foot and 200 horse on his left near Gießen.

*The Viscount seizes all the advantageous posts.*

An. 1675.

Montecuculli endeavours to make the Viscount abandon his post at Vilstet.


18 June.

Montecuculli having for some days examined the situation of the French camp, and all the posts possessed by the Viscount, saw that he could not, nor ought to attack him; he had recourse to stratagem, and made as if he had a mind to fall upon the bridge of Ottenheim, with a view to make Turenne abandon his post at Vilstet. The French were soon after informed that the enemy had decamped and that all their army was marching towards Brisgau along the foot of the mountains of the Black Forest; some parties however brought word that it was only a great detachment: they were yet in an uncertainty when the Marquis d'Harcourt who had accompany'd the Count de Lorges came and told the Viscount that forty squadrons of the enemy having appeared in sight of the advanced guards of the detachment near Altenheim, he had made his troops march to a post which he had viewed with a design to fight the Imperialists if they passed that way, judging it better to do so than to go to the bridge, which he could not reach without exposing his flank to the enemy and separating himself entirely from the Count de Lorges's corps. *Young man,* answered the Viscount, *you have made a very bold step: we shall see presently whether you have done well.* In a little time after Turenne decamped, left some infantry, cavalry and dragoons at Vilstet, marched with his army in great haste and took up his quarters at Altenheim: in his way he viewed the post which the Marquis d'Harcourt had seized, and exceedingly commended his conduct: he then made the Count de Lorges advance to Meissenheim a league nearer the bridge, and by this disposition covered the posts of Ottenheim and Vilstet, and put himself in a condition of succouring whichsoever of them should be attacked: moreover he was sensible from his knowledge of the country that the Imperialists could not come at them but with difficulty and by marching in file.

The

The Imperialists after marching three leagues had taken up their head quarters at the Abbey of Schutteren on the brook of the same name, extending their left to Loor along the foot of the mountain, which they kept behind them; there was but a league between their camp, and that of the French, which were separated only by the brook Dunditz ford-able every where, but the banks of which were very steep. The Viscount went himself to view the brook, and found a bridge over it on the mid-way between the two armies, where the enemy had planted no guard; he broke it down, and left at the passage 50 men supported by several detachments in different posts from that place to the army; he took the same precaution in other parts where the passage seemed the easiest. The Count de Montecuculli seeing himself once more prevented, continued in his camp at the Abbey of Schutteren, and made divers motions to the right and left, sometimes towards the bridge of Altenheim, sometimes towards that of Strasburgh; the Viscount observed him narrowly, was every where, and so well defended his two bridges, that the enemy could not make themselves masters of either the one or the other. During all the time that the two armies continued in this situation, there hardly passed a day without some rencounters; the Imperialists and French perpetually harraßed each other, yet nothing more happened than slight skirmishes.

The enemy could not conceive how the Viscount with 20,000 men, had so guarded an extent of ground of three long leagues from Vilstet to Ottenheim, that he was still at hand to defend his own bridge and that of Strasburgh, whenever they began to march towards the one or the other: he was continually in motion, and his troops always in action. However to spare them this extraordinary fatigue,

An. 1675.  
  
 Montecuculli makes divers marches and counter-marches, with a view to surprize the Viscount.

The Viscount removes his bridge from Ottenheim, to Altenheim.

An. 1675. fatigue, he caused the bridge at Ottenheim to be behind him, to be removed near Altenheim, where he took up his head quarters: the men began to work at the bridge on the twenty second of June, and on the twenty sixth it was finished in a place where there were as many isles as in the other, where the ground was better for passing, and which was nearer Strasburgh. By thus contracting his army, the Viscount had not much above two leagues to guard, from Altenheim to Vilstet.

Montecuculli goes to his old camp at Offembourg and then quits it: the Viscount follows him from post to post.

The enemy saw the designs they had upon the bridge of the French army thus defeated, and found themselves in a very perplexing situation; they had consumed all the provisions of the little Imperial towns round about them, and could find none but what they brought from Suabia by the valley of the river Quinche, which was a very long and difficult way; while on the other hand there came abundance into the French camp from Alsace by Altenheim, and from Brisac by the Rhine. The Imperialists could not extend themselves either to the right or the left, because they were shut up on one side by the river, and on the other by the mountains; they would willingly have marched towards Friburg, where there were great magazines; but in going thither they would have exposed their flank to the French: the safest method was to return back, and notwithstanding the shame of it they resolved to retire. Montecuculli left the Abbey of Schutteren, regained his old camp at Offembourg, and the Viscount returned to Vilstet: examining the enemy's procedure, he judged that having given over the design of possessing themselves of his bridge, they could have no other view but that of drawing near to Strasburgh, in order to have some communication with that great town by boats on the Rhine: being resolved to keep by the side of them, and defend the approaches to the river

without



without going too far from his bridge, he passed the Quinche between Vilstet and Strasburgh, posted his right at the river near Neumul, and leaving Strasburgh behind him he extended his left to Boderfvir under the command of the Count de Lorges. The Imperialists then quitted Offembourg, advanced two leagues, and posted themselves from Urlass to Brunhurst. The next day the Viscount leaving his left wing at Boderfvir, made his right advance to the other side of the village, in which he took up his head quarters, and posted his dragoons in the front.

An. 1675.

June 28.

The two armies continued in this situation six days without doing any thing; then the Imperialists decamped and marched into the little plain of Schertzen, where the Rhine being at their right, and the Renchen at the head of their camp, they extended themselves from Renchenloch to Lichtenau, five leagues from Strasburgh. The Viscount had caused the Count de Roye to view that post a little before, and would have seized it before the enemy, if he could have made his army march without exposing Vilstet, and by consequence the bridge near Altenheim and that at Strasburgh. When he had advice that the enemy were there, he decamped by break of day,

Montecuculli again decamps, and the Viscount follows him. July 3d.

July 4th. marched through Bischen to the entrance of a wood, the defile of which terminates at Renchenloch, drew up his army in order of battle in a little plain between the wood and the village of Freistet and detached in form of a battalion 50 men of the brigade of Campagne supported by eight or ten squadrons under the Count de Lorges to view the enemy's entrenchments. The Viscount being informed that all the Imperial army was near him, made his own retire a little, and extend itself from Bischen to Freistet, his left being towards the Rhine in two or three lines: a wood five or six hundred paces cross, and a small brook which ran in a marshy ground separated

An. 1675. rated the two armies: one would think that they could not have been so near without continually alarming each other, and coming to blows every moment; it was but a quarter of a league from the head of the French camp to the entrenchments of the Imperialists; the centinels of the advanced guards were within musket-shot of one another; nevertheless such confidence had the troops in their Generals, that they slept quietly in their respective camps. Montecuculli by this situation pursued his design of not fighting, and endeavoured in his turn to weary out the French by want of forrage, being persuaded that they could not support themselves long in a narrow country, enclosed on the one side by morasses and mountains, and on the other by the Rhine; ruined the last year by the winter quarters of the Imperialists, and by the great number of troops which had subsisted there for above two months past. The Viscount always found new expedients: when the grain was consumed, he made his horses live upon grafs, while he incommoded the enemy by cutting off the communication with Strasburgh, where they had got together great quantities of flour.

Montecuculli makes a bridge of boats at Strasburgh, and the Viscount hinders him from making any advantage of it.

Montecuculli not being able to bring his convoys of provisions by land without danger, had caused a bridge of boats to be made at Strasburgh, and two mills to be built capable of grinding a great quantity of grain. When he drew near the Rhine, and encamped in the plain of Schertzen between Renchenloch and Lichttenau, he thought that his bridge and flour would come down the river with so much the more ease, as the Rhine was very much swelled by the rains, and very difficult to be guarded, because of the great number of isles that divided it; he hoped by this method of conveyance to bring plenty of provisions into his camp, and at the same time to be master of both sides of the Rhine by means of his bridge. The Viscount who fore-

An. 1675.



saw his design, ordered the river to be viewed from the eminence of Bischen to Vantznau, which is opposite to it on the other side of the Rhine: he found that the river was divided by several islands, but that there were only three principal channels; he shut up that of Vantznau by a staccado, with a redoubt at each end, guarded by 500 men of the garrison of Haguenau; he caused that near Bischen to be stopped up after the same manner, and the great canal in the middle to be guarded by boats filled with soldiers, and covered by batteries raised in the islands; he at the same time sent word to the inhabitants of Strasburgh, that if they suffered the enemy's bridge to come down the river, he would expect the like liberty for his at Altenheim. For two months Turenne and Montecuculli thus put in practise all that long experience had taught them: by their different motions real or feigned, they exhausted all the finesses of art to starve, intercept, surprize and gain some advantage over one another, without which both had determined not to hazard a battle.

The Viscount's activity distressed the Imperialists; but his own army began to feel great inconveniences; ever since it had passed the Rhine, which was six weeks before, there had been continual rains; the soldiers were encamped in mud and dirt, and had suffered a great deal in a ruined country; the horses having consumed the forrage and the grass, had had nothing to live upon for some time past, but the leaves of trees; the young soldiers impatient of being in morasses, where they were often in water up to the knees, murmur'd, upon which the old soldiers said to them:

“ \* What makes you complain? you do not know our  
 “ General; when we are in any distress he is more  
 “ uneasy than we: at this moment his thoughts are  
 “ wholly employed in contriving how to extricate

The great  
 extremity to  
 which the  
 French army  
 is reduced.

\* Madame de Sevigné's letters, let. 206.



An. 1675. “ us from this difficulty ; he is awake when we  
 “ sleep, he is our father, it is easy to see that you  
 “ are but young.” In the mean time the French  
 were enclosed on one side by the Rhine, and on the  
 other by vast woods full of morasses, and were  
 reduced to a situation like that in which the Impe-  
 rialists had lately been. Turenne had foreseen this  
 inconvenience ; but he chose rather to run the risk of  
 it, than let his rival take possession of the bridge of  
 Strasburgh. The enemy were encamped in a very  
 advantageous post, they had forrage behind them,  
 and a communication with Offembourg, from  
 whence they could at the same time fall upon the  
 bridge at Altenheim, and cut off the French army  
 from all the country behind it. In order to guard  
 that country, and prevent surprizes, it was neces-  
 sary to place a great many troops in divers posts at  
 a distance from the camp ; so that it was as difficult  
 for the French to maintain their ground as to get  
 provisions. In the midst of these perplexities, the  
 Viscount still preserved his presence of mind, and  
 formed a great and bold design : it was to possess  
 himself of the upper part of the brook Renchen,  
 encamp on the left of the enemy, cut off their com-  
 munication with Offembourg, and shut them up in  
 such a manner that they must fight or retire. The  
 bad weather which had continued for two months,  
 hindered the execution of this project some days :  
 while the Viscount waited for a proper time to act  
 he caused all the ground up along the Renchen to  
 be viewed : he had observed that the enemy guarded  
 it for three quarters of a league from the place where  
 the brook discharged itself into the Rhine, and that  
 they had seized no posts higher up. A shepherd  
 who lived in the woods, and who knew perfectly  
 well all the by ways of them, shewed the Viscount  
 a ford of the Renchen, 500 paces above Montecu-  
 culli’s camp, in a desert place where there was no  
 road,

The



The bad weather being over about the 10th of An. 1675. July, and the sun having dried the roads a little, <sup>The Vis-</sup> Turenne marched on the 15th in the evening to the <sup>count forms</sup> ford of Renchen with the brigade of marine and <sup>several de-</sup> some pieces of canon. They crossed a marshy wood, <sup>tachments,</sup> which they were obliged to cut in order to make <sup>and endea-</sup> a road. They passed several brooks, where they <sup>vours to force</sup> were up to the middle in water; the soldiers loaded <sup>Montecuculli</sup> with instruments and materials for making entrench- <sup>to retire or</sup> ments and a bridge, arrived before midnight, not <sup>fight.</sup> one of them having thrown away the least tool: they <sup>July 15.</sup> instantly began to make a bridge with a redan at the end of it, and entrenched a little island on the left. The works being finished in three days, the <sup>July 18.</sup> Count de Hamilton led three battalions to guard the post, and fortified the places round it with great numbers of trees laid along: two Irish battalions possessed an empty space a little higher up in the same wood, in order to support Hamilton. All necessary precautions being thus taken for securing the post, Turenne marched himself with a brigade of cavalry and the dragoons half a league higher up, crossing the wood till he came to Vaghurst, where he passed the Renchen, viewed the ground thereabouts, routed some of the enemy's cavalry that appeared, and sent a party of his own to favour the march of the Count du Plessis, whom he had ordered to come from Vilstet with three battalions, with a view to post him on this side the brook opposite to Vaghurst, in a place which he caused to be entrenched on purpose. He at the same time put the battalion of Reveillon in the castle of Renchen on the brook of that name 500 paces above Vaghurst, and as the way to that place was a continued morass in the wood, he caused it to be covered with fascines, in order to facilitate the march of the army. As he was obliged to leave but few troops in his camp at Freis-  
tedt, whenever he should march against the enemy, he

An. 1675. he drew an entrenchment which covered the front of it from the Rhine to the wood: at length all the preparations being made, he communicated his design to the General Officers.

Montecuculli endeavours to surprize the Viscount.

Montecuculli was soon informed of the several detachments of the French army, and resolved to surprize them in different places, thinking them to be too far asunder to be able to support one another; he sent orders to Caprara to come by Offembourg, and attack them at Vaghurst with 2000 foot and some canon; he made the Prince of Lorrain set out from the camp at Schertzen with 4000 horse, and 1000 dragoons to charge them on the other side, while he himself was to fall upon their camp at Freistedt by the defile of Renchenloch; he at the same time commanded 4000 men to march towards Count Hamilton's entrenchments: the four first canon that should be fired at this last attack was to be the signal for the others to begin; his whole army was thus distributed, and there was hardly any body left in his camp. This design which was to be put in execution on the 23d at night, was defeated by Turenne's continual vigilance: he having left six battalions and four brigades of horse under the Count de Lorges at Freistedt, marched directly to Vaghurst with eight battalions, four brigades of cavalry, some dragoons, and a part of his canon; he took from thence two of the Count du Pleffis's battalions, and having passed the Renchen went and encamped at a tile-kiln not far from the brook. As he designed to advance towards the enemy the next day, he detached 60 dragoons to get intelligence of them: they got near the village of Gamhurst a little after midnight, and met the corps which the Prince of Lorrain was leading to surprize the Count du Pleffis; they retired skirmishing towards the army: Turenne made some dragoons advance, and the Marquis de Vaubrun

led

led thither some cavalry. Day began to appear, An. 1675.  
 but darkened by a fog, when the enemy who had repulsed the detachment of dragoons, put in disorder those who were come to support them, and fell upon the Marquis de Vaubrun unawares ; his first squadrons were beat back, and he himself was enclosed, wounded and in danger of being taken. The enemy still advanced and were going to overwhelm him entirely, when the Viscount caused four battalions to advance, who lined the hedges, stopped the Imperialists, and changed the face of the battle. The Prince of Lorraine having learnt that the Viscount de Turenne was there in person with the greatest part of his army, retired immediately : the mist was favourable to him ; he left 100 or 120 men dead on the spot, and had almost as many wounded ; Turenne did not think it proper to pursue him, during the fog, in a close and intricate country. Count Caprara, who had marched near to Vaghurst, according to the orders he had received, not hearing the signal, led back his troops to Offembourg. On the other hand the 4000 men who were to attack Hamilton's quarters, being misled by their guides in the night could not arrive at the place ; they returned to their camp about break of day ; and as they had not given the signal of the four canon shot, Montecuculli made no attempt upon the French camp at Freistedt. He had heard nothing of Turenne's march, whose diligence had defeated the design about which he had taken so much pains. At the age of 64 the Viscount had all the activity and vigour of a young man : he was continually on horseback, viewed even the least important posts himself, and judged of every thing by his own eyes ; whereas Montecuculli who was 66, was more broke, afflicted with the gout, less fit for action, and often obliged to form his schemes upon the reports of others.

An. 1675.

Montecuculli retires before the Viscount who follows him.

When the mist went off, the Viscount continuing his design, followed the Prince of Lorrain by a causey that ran across the fields, and arrived by nine in the morning at the village of Gamhurst. He made his troops encamp in the meadow, having at his right the brook which separated it from the village, and in his front a wood, where he placed two battalions of Auvergne in order to have a communication with Count Hamilton's post, which was but a quarter of a league off. Thus the French army, divided in six different posts within the compass of a league and a half, enclosed the front and left wing of the enemy, and was itself in security, because the several parts could with ease assist one another; while the Imperialists being shut up on their right by the Rhine, could extend themselves no way but towards the places behind them, and the French were near enough to cut off their retreat. The Viscount spent the rest of the twenty fourth in viewing the ground about his camp without passing the brook, on the other side of which was the village of Gamhurst, which is 600 paces in length. On the 25th in the morning a captain of dragoons who went to reconnoitre, saw behind the village several squadrons in a small plain to the right, and some infantry entering the village, and beginning to entrench themselves there. The Viscount ordered them to be attacked by the Queen's dragoons, and went thither himself with a detachment of the second line. The enemy, tho' very numerous, did not dispute the village, they retired immediately to their camp, and only left in the Church 200 men commanded by a Frenchman called Chevreulles: the Churchyard was a high ground inclosed with a wall; Chevreulles defended himself there with bravery, and was not taken prisoner till he had lost almost all his soldiers. He was brought to the Viscount, who learn'd of him that the Duke of Lorrain had sent

2000



2000 foot supported by some cavalry to seize that post, the taking of which would have given him room to extend himself on the other side of the river where there were some remainders of forrage. Montecuculli seeing that the French had passed the bounds he had endeavoured to set them by his entrenchments on the Renchen ; that by a continuation of posts from their camp at Friestedt to Gamhurst, they had almost enclosed him, and that they would become masters of the forrage which he had spared, thought it proper to quit his post before he was more closely hemmed in. On the twenty fifth at night, he decamped from Schertzen, marched by Lichtenau and went to Bihel two leagues from Baden. The Viscount being informed the same night that the enemy were retiring, sent to view their march, and having got together all his troops into one camp at Gamhurst, he led them next morning by break of day strait to Acheren. Scarce was he gone out of the village, An. 1675.  
July 26. when he had accounts that the enemy appeared behind the little town of Saspach, a post advantageously situated at the foot of a mountain. Montecuculli had sent some infantry betimes to take possession of a Church surrounded by a ditch, which intirely shut up a defile which led to the town ; he at the same time sent word to Caprara to come and join him with the corps which he had at Offembourg. Montecuculli having marched with great expedition, arrived at Saspach on one side, while Turenne drew near to it on the other : Caprara appeared there likewise at the same time, and seeing the French army at hand, made his infantry enter the pass of the mountain under cover of hedges and woods along the banks of a brook, which had made several deep channels that separated his men from the French. A little lower to the right of the Imperialists was Saspach, the church of which they had possessed themselves of ; and their cavalry which already appeared in the plain

An. 1675. behind the town on the left, posted themselves by degrees in close ranks at the foot of the mountain.

The Viscount resolves to attack the enemy ; but is killed.

Near the place where the French army was, some hedges that began at Acheren formed a defile, with a wood that ran along the foot of the mountain : this defile led into a little plain terminated by the town of Saspach, which was concealed from sight by a small eminence. The Viscount at first had some hopes of being able to make himself master of the town ; after hearing Mafs, where he communicated, he went to view the church situated in the entrance of the defile ; but did not think that it could be attacked : then having examined the situation of the enemy's right, which was covered by brooks, hollow ways, woods and entrenchments, he last of all viewed their left, where they had taken no precautions ; there he perceived a defile through which he could convey himself, and formed a design to attack them on that side. After profound reflection, every thing appeared to him so favourably disposed, that he could not help saying to some General Officers : *It is done, I have them, they cannot escape me any more, and I shall soon reap the fruit of so fatiguing a campaign.* On such occasions he was not used either to be too confident or to discover his hopes of success, far less to say that he was sure of it. He continued to observe the enemy's camp, and tho' he could not well see all the Imperial troops, yet he perceived in the main body of their army many motions that denoted uneasiness ; and indeed a great part of their baggage was already passing the mountain, and their whole army was preparing to make a retreat. The Viscount went and rested himself under a tree, where he breakfasted and continued a pretty long time. He was still there when he received advice that the enemy's infantry was in motion towards the mountain. He rose up, mounted his horse, and advanced to an eminence to see what the matter

matter was; he ordered those that were with him not An. 1673.  
 to follow him, and said to the young Duke of Elbeuf, *Stay here, nephew, you are always running round me, you will make me be known.* Near the place whither he was going he met my Lord Hamilton, who said to him; *Come this way, Sir, they are firing the way you are riding;* to which the Viscount answered, *I should not willingly be kill'd to day;* he went on and met S. Hilaire Lieutenant General of the artillery, who said to him, pointing with his hand; *Look, Sir, upon that battery which I have raised there.* Scarce had he turned two paces back, when a ball from a canon fired by the enemy at a venture having first carried off S. Hilaire's arm that was stretched out towards the battery, took the Viscount full in the breast: falling forward, his face lay upon the saddle-bow, and in this posture his horse carried him back to the place where he had left his company; there the horse stopped, and THE GREAT TURENNE, having twice opened his eyes \*, fell dead in the arms of his servants. S. Hilaire's son thinking his father mortally wounded, and beginning to weep and cry, the father said to him, *It is not for me, child, that you should lament, it is for that great man,* pointing to the Viscount's body.

The consternation of those who saw him fall is inexpressible; Hamilton who had more command of himself than the rest, considering of how great consequence it was to conceal so fatal an accident from the soldiers, immediately threw a cloak over the body, and the misfortune was for some time kept a secret. The army however perceived that there was something mysterious amongst the Generals; the soldiers could not penetrate into the matter, but their officers having guessed it, began to make it publick. Such doleful news flew from rank to rank, and every where spread a profound silence, which was interrupted only by sighs and lamentations. *Our fa-*

The grief  
and consternation of the  
army.

\* See the Authorities No. 21. Madame de Sevigne's letters.

An. 1675. *ther is dead*, cried the soldiers tearing their hair, *and we are undone*. Every one had a mind to see his General's body; that sad spectacle renewed their tears, they cried out with one common voice: \* *Lead us to battle, we will revenge the death of our father*. Turenne's death put an end to the anxiety of the enemy's Generals, and the terror of their soldiers; they were sensible that they had gained a great advantage, because France had sustained a prodigious loss. Montecuculli indeed by a greatness of soul rarely to be found in rivals, seemed unaffected with any thing but grief, and often repeated these words, *There is a man dead who was an honour to human nature*.

The French  
instead of  
attacking the  
Imperialists  
retire before  
them.

There were then no Lieutenant-Generals in the French army, but the Count de Lorges and the Marquis de Vaubrun, the latter of whom having stayed in the camp at Acheren, being unfit for action by reason of a wound he had received in the foot, returned to the army as soon as he learnt the news of the Viscount's death. They consulted a long time with the principal Officers upon what measures were proper to be taken, but they could come to no conclusion: whereupon the soldiers cried out several times: *Let Pye loose, he will lead us*: meaning the horse which the Viscount commonly rode. At length after several deliberations, the French army, which was to have attacked the enemy if Turenne had lived, now purposed to retire, and the Imperialists who had thought of nothing but how to make their retreat, took a resolution to attack the French. On the 28th in the evening the latter began to march towards the bridge at Altenheim. Scarce was their rear arrived at Bischen when the Imperialists advanced to take possession of Vilstet, where the French had left their magazines, with the regiment of Britany to guard them: the King's army immediately decamped and hastened to prevent the enemy, who seeing the French, stopt short, and con-

\* Madam de Sevigne's letters, Vol. II. lett. 201.



ented themselves with sending a body of troops to-<sup>An. 1675.</sup> wards the bridge at Altenheim to cut off their retreat. The Count de Lorges and the Marquis de Vaubrun had then a sharp contest; the former had a mind to cover the bridge, and the latter was for maintaining the post at Villstet: they at length concluded to march directly to Altenheim after throwing into the Quinche the meal that was at Villstet. The Marquis de Vaubrun who led the van passed the Rhine with two brigades of cavalry, and two of infantry; the rest of the army encamped at night on the other side of the bridge near Altenheim on the small river Schutteren. The next day the Imperialists marched up with all expedition, and attacked the French; there ensued a terrible battle: the Count de Lorges behaved there with all the skill of a great General, and the Marquis de Vaubrun, at the first onset, put himself at the head of the gendarmes, repassed the Rhine with his leg tied to the saddle, and attacked the enemy with so much valour and so little caution, that he was killed in the midst of them. The Imperialists lost in that battle 5000 men, and the French 3000; the latter afterwards retired, and passed the Rhine. As they were crossing at the bridge of Altenheim, some soldiers covered with wounds, said one to another: *Alas! if our father had been alive we should not have been thus wounded.*

The French at length secured themselves in Alsace under Schelestat: having their thoughts no longer taken up with the care of making head against the enemy, they felt more sensibly than ever the greatness of their loss. The Officers and soldiers began again to lament their misfortune, to recal to mind all the virtues and good deeds of their General, and to recount them to one another, tho' none of them were ignorant of them. The Viscount's nephews who were then in the army, had a service performed for him, whereat the Officers and soldiers assisted, ac-

*The funeral  
honours paid  
to the Vis-  
count.*

An. 1675. cording to the usual ceremonies ; the Officers with black crape scarfs, the drums covered with the same, and the foldiers with pikes trailing and muskets inverted. Their lamentations accompanied with tears were heard at a great distance, and Turenne was mourned for by all the army as a father by his family.

The news  
of his death  
alarms all  
the provin-  
ces

When the news of his death arrived at Court, consternation and grief were painted upon every face ; the tradesmen of Paris left their work to go and mourn with their neighbours, and the inhabitants of that great city flocked together to enquire news of one another concerning even the least circumstances of so great a misfortune. \* Astonishment and sorrow soon spread from the Capital to the most distant Provinces: the peasants of Champagne thought themselves upon the point of being invaded : one of them went and pressed his landlord to break the lease of his farm, giving this for the sole reason, *The great Turenne is dead, and the Germans will come and put us all under contribution.*

The publick  
honours done  
the Viscount.

The King bewailed the death of this great man; he ordered his body to be brought to the Abbey of St. Dennis ; and to distinguish the Viscount de Turenne from those to whom the same honour had been granted, he would have him enterr'd in the Chappel appointed for the burying place of the Kings and the Royal Family. † While his corps was on the way from the banks of the Rhine to Paris, the people ran together in crouds on the road, and watered his coffin with their tears : the inhabitants of the villages, boroughs and towns came out to meet it ; those of Langres among others, put on mourning, and paid him extraordinary honours. His body being arrived at Paris, the King caused a service to be perform'd at Notre dame, at which the

\* See Madam de Sevine's letters, No. 21.

† See the Authorities, No. 22.

Clergy of France who were then assembled, the Parliament, the University, the Magistrates and Citizens, in a body assisted. The most celebrated preachers vyed with one another in making his Panegyrick: there was no publick discourse pronounc'd all that year, either at the opening of Parliaments, Academies or Universities, or on any other solemn occasion wherein his elogium was not made, and the loss of him lamented. Never was a private man so much regretted, because never was any one so much respected, or so tenderly beloved by the people.

After writing the history of Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne Vicomte de Turenne, it may not be improper to give some description of his person, and collect into one view the principal parts of his character. He was of a middle stature and well proportioned; the shape of his face regular, his hair of a chesnut colour, full eyes, his eye-brows thick and almost joined together, his forehead large and his head a little inclining to one side, his air modest and serene but often thoughtful; all which by the mixture of severity and affability formed a countenance not easy to be drawn in a picture.

The Vis-  
de Turenne's  
character.

All the Cardinal Virtues were united in the Marshal de Turenne, and by what has been said there seems to be none, of which he did not give examples: his disinterestedness was so much the more praiseworthy, as covetousness was the reigning vice of the age. His fortune at his death was less than the patrimony he had received from his parents, though he had commanded the King's army above thirty years under a bountiful Queen Regent and the most magnificent of all Monarchs; and though he lived in an age fruitful in great fortunes. Some of his friends talking with him of those immense and suddenly acquired fortunes, and rallying him on that occasion in an agreeable obliging manner: he answered, \* “ I could  
“ never find out what pleasure there can be in keep-  
“ ing coffers filled with gold and silver; were I

\* Langlade's Memoirs.

“ to

“ to have considerable sums remaining at the end  
 “ of the year, my stomach would turn as much as  
 “ if a great repast were served up to me immediate-  
 “ ly upon my rising from table. ” And indeed  
 there were found at his death only 500 crowns in his  
 strong box. Not content with being liberal, he was  
 ingenious in finding out means to spare the objects of  
 his bounty the shame of receiving, and in concealing  
 his generosity under various pretexts, fearing lest his  
 benefactions being divulged, self-love should dimi-  
 nish his virtue.

The love of the publick good was the only rule  
 of his desires and actions : though his ambition ap-  
 peared in his younger years, yet first his prudence  
 afterwards his piety kept it always within due bounds :  
 he never suffered the love of his own glory nor the  
 undoubted success of a dazzling enterprize to byass  
 him, when a pacifick project could be of more ad-  
 vantage to his country ; he always preferred his fa-  
 mily to his fortune, and the interest of the State to that  
 of his House ; but however dear his country was to  
 him, he never to serve it either violated the law of  
 nations or the immutable rules of justice.

He had from his tender years a predominant  
 love of truth ; he detested that policy which to  
 succeed in its designs employs dissimulation, lying  
 and deceiving : he spoke either well or ill of himself  
 according as it was necessary, the one without  
 vanity, the other without shame, and both without  
 affectation, like a man that was become a stranger  
 to himself. This character runs through all his wri-  
 tings, whether letters, instructions or memoirs. His  
 reputation of being strictly faithful to his word was so  
 well established, that most of the Princes of Germa-  
 ny treated with him without asking any guarantee.  
 The Swiss, Dutch, English and Swedes thought  
 themselves secure if he had given them a promise ;  
 he never gave one without being sure that he was able  
 to perform it, and rather than come under engage-  
 ments



ments which he was afraid he could not fulfil, he chose to run the risk of provoking the Minister, displeasing even the King, and seeing himself deserted by his troops.

His humanity extended itself universally to all men; Officers, soldiers, domesticks, even enemies felt the effects of it: he never let slip an opportunity of making known the merit and of concealing or excusing the faults of those who served under him. When an Officer, whose capacity he knew, had been beaten at the head of a detachment, the Viscount himself raised his courage again by comforting him; he would send him on a party with a greater number of troops to take his revenge, and continued to give him new commands till he had gained some advantage. He thus formed and ripened the talents of men, and perfected their growing courage which another manner of acting might have rendered abortive.

Never was a Captain so tenderly beloved by his troops; he seemed to be at the same time General of an army and father of a family: one would have thought that his soldiers had been his children; by condescending to them without debasing himself, being familiar with them without losing any thing of his dignity, he tied to him by the bands of affection men who are commonly restrained by nothing but the fear of punishment: a reproof from him was the greatest chastisement, and his approbation the reward they most coveted. There is too frequently in armies a confused assembly of mercenaries and libertines, cowards and rash men, who must by turns be raised or brought under, animated or restrained: Turenne's army on the contrary was the model of a perfect republic; the distinctions of commanding and obeying were hardly perceptible there; every one knew his duty, and performed it out of a desire to please the General, shame to be wanting to their common father, and a true love of glory which diffused itself from the head to the meanest

est member. He often marched a foot at the head of his soldiers; eat of the same provisions with them, shared in all their toils, and required nothing of them but what he did himself; he never suffered them to be idle, knowing that if he did not employ them well, they would employ themselves ill; but still observing a just medium between too excessive fatigue and too great inaction, he carefully provided for all their wants, contenting himself with little, and often refusing himself necessaries, either to give them tokens of his bounty, or relieve them when they suffered by scarcity.

Being no less compassionate to his domesticks than to his soldiers, he never made them feel the lowness of their condition by the caprices of a proud and uneven temper. His lenity and goodness which has been so often admired on the great theatre of the world did not less show themselves in his family: the more narrowly his actions were looked into the more he was respected and beloved. Notwithstanding his great jealousy of the prerogatives of his House, he was struck with horror at the monstrous maxims which the Great have formed to themselves to authorize their usurping a tyranny over other men, and despising them; as if birth, dignities or riches gave any other solid advantage than that of being able to do more good: while he made the distinctions established for the preservation of *civil order* be respected, he never forgot that according to *the law of nature* men are really distinguished by no other thing than virtue and merit.

\* Being accustomed to conquer without ambition, he triumphed without pride; he forbade pillaging, preserved the fruits of the ground, spared the enemy's country as much as he could, and made a kind of *system of military morality* which was peculiar to himself: accordingly the enemy being full of respect and affection for him, lamented his death as much as the French themselves. The

Germans for several years left untill'd the spot on which he was killed, and the peasants shew'd it as a sacred place: they respected the old tree under which he rested a little before his death, and would not let it be cut down; nor did it perish but by soldiers of all nations taking away pieces of it out of regard to the memory of that great man.

The Viscount, according to the idea which he had formed to himself of true heroism, made it consist in an elevation of soul which renders us inaccessible to the passions of others, and gives us an absolute empire over our own. He spent his life without ever having any personal quarrel. In the first years of his service, he was not always under leaders for whom he had a great esteem: he had afterwards under him Officers whom he esteemed as little: he was joined in command with Generals not easy to live with on account of their humours and the jealousy they had of his glory: amidst so many provocations to impatience, he never offended any body, nor shew'd the least passion; nay he let not so much as an indiscreet word escape him. Though he had naturally a great sweetness of temper, yet a moderation so rare, and practis'd with so much constancy, could not be the effect of constitution alone: if he seem'd sometimes to deviate from it, it was only to support the interests of the State, against the prepossessions and false views of the Minister; then without regarding his own interests, or those of his Family, he always spoke with firmness like a good patriot, who was afraid of nothing but being wanting to the cause of justice and his country.

Sobriety had preserv'd his vigour to an advanced age, he look'd upon that virtue as a mean equally proper to maintain the strength of the body, and encrease that of the mind; he eat little, and his repasts were very short; by which means he was free and capable to do business at all times, and became indefatigable both of body and mind.

His

His modesty was conspicuous above all his other virtues : this is clearly seen in the Memoirs which he has left written with his own hand ; he there relates his greatest actions as ordinary events ; he seems hardly to have had any part in them, and to have done nothing but what any other man could have done. The *heroic*, the *sublime* in action, or what the French call *le grand*, was natural and familiar to him ; he was always GREAT, and always so with ease. In conversation he hardly ever spoke of himself ; if he was at any time forced to it, he did it with so much reserve, that he seemed ignorant of his own merit and the high idea which others had of it. When he related the battles in which he had not succeeded, he always made use of this expression ; *I lost* : when he spoke of his victories, he always said, *We gained*. The unaffected plainness of his manners and dress, table and equipage sufficiently spoke his modesty. He took no other care of his person but what cleanliness and decency obliged him to : he employed his domesticks only in necessary services, and sometimes too indulgently dispensed with those.

He purified all his virtues by that noble solid piety which refers them to God as their source and end. In the midst of the noise and tumult of arms, the sentiments of a Christian, accompany'd, animated and perfected in him those of a hero \*. If there be a situation where the soul full of its self is in danger of forgetting what it owes to the Supreme Being, it is in those stations where a General by the prudence of his conduct, the greatness of his courage, and the valour of his troops becomes as it were *the God of other men*, and fills the world with love or envy, admiration or terror. Turenne was never more sensible of his duty to God than in those moments : at this pitch of glory and greatness, religion and humility kept his mind in that submission and dependence which the creature ought to be in with regard to the Creator.

\* See Father Mascaron's funeral oration,



The Viscount's talents were equal to his virtues. \* Nature had given him great sense and penetration, justness and depth of thought, and all solid accomplishments, but had denied him that fire of genius, that liveliness of imagination, those qualities which constitute a sparkling, entertaining wit; this want of vivacity hindered him from laying hold of objects immediately; but by continued reflection he discovered them with greater clearness, and comprehended them in all their extent. He saw distinctly the end he should aim at, he took the nearest way to it, and without being very fruitful in expedients, never failed to choose the best. In urgent affairs he determined without hesitating; but when he was not obliged to act, he deliberated a long time. He neither said nor did any thing that was useless, but forgot nothing that was necessary; all his orders were plain and exact, because he had clear conceptions of things, and was never discomposed in dangers.

We have seen in the course of this History, that by his profound reflections he had acquired such an extensive knowledge in the art of war, that he had calculated even the chances of it and reduced them to rules. He knew how to remedy inconveniencies, improve advantages, accommodate himself to times, places and circumstances, find out expedients when all was thought lost, let an enterprize ripen with patience, bear with being criticized and blamed rather than discover his secret, prevent the enemy's designs, guess what they would do by what they ought to do, and by the characters of those he was to fight with foresee their different managements. It was thus that he made himself master of events, and as it were subjected them to his schemes. Few Generals have possessed in so great perfection all the different parts of war. We have seen the art and order of his retreats, and the secrecy and quickness of his marches. All his

\* S. Evremont's Elogium.

motions

motions were adjusted according to the ground, the time and the season. The great knowledge he had of the country where he made war, the trouble he took to go in person to view the enemy, and the exactness of his eye in judging of their situation raised him above the ablest Generals in choosing ground for a camp. It was by this art that with forces very much inferior in number he often check'd the most formidable enemies. He always preferred small armies to great, as being more expeditious in their marches, easier to be maintained and more manageable in their motions : but when he was at the head of 30,000 men he conducted them with the same judgment as when he had but 10,000. In the beginning of an action there was nothing extraordinary to be remarked in him ; but as the engagement grew warmer, his air and countenance changed ; he appeared more raised and animated, still preserving an entire freedom of mind, which made him judge coolly, provide for all, and take advantage of the least faults committed by the enemy. He so well chose his Ground, that he was scarcely ever forced to fight. In drawing up his troops for a battle he ranked the soldiers of the different nations according to the knowledge he had of their genius, and regulated the posts of the Officers rather by their capacity than their precedency. He no less excelled in the art of making sieges ; he viewed all with his own eyes, directed the works, visited them continually, and would have the Officers informed as he was of the most minute particulars. He avoided as much as possible the taking any place by assault, his humanity making him afraid of the outrages which the soldiers commit on such occasions.

These Virtues, sentiments and talents were the source of great actions, which will make the Viscount de Turenne immortal, and which justly gained him the Elogium of having been A MAN WHO WAS AN HONOUR TO MANKIND.

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# APPROBATION.

**B**Y Order of my Lord Keeper of the Seals I have perus'd *The History of the Life of Monsieur de Turenne*, and I think it worthy of the Hero.

*At Paris 25 May 1734.*

FONTENELLE.

I have also perus'd the Authorities in three Parts;

FONTENELLE.





